The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

MADRAS RECORD OFFICE

Volume XIII
(for the Year 1922-23)

DALY MEMORIAL HALL
Cenotaph Road, BANGALORE

JL
Q1:1mN09
N10.13

PRINTED AT
THE BANGALORE PRESS, LAKE VIEW, MYSORE ROAD
BANGALORE CITY

69424

INDEX TO VOL. XIII

Papers read or contributed—

	PAGES
Annual Report of the Mythic Society, The twelfth	423—429
Bengali Cumulative Folk-tale, On a——of the "Old Dame Lousy Type"	767—775
Bhagavad-Gita, the Philosophy of Duty	555—562
Bharavi and Daṇḍin, The Age of——or the Literary History of the Pallava Period	670—688
Bird Myth, On a——from the District of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal	665—669
Brahmanism, Varieties of	494—498
Bṛhatkathā, Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the——(Supplement, published at the end)	93—148
Coin Collecting in South India	459—471
Daṇḍin, The Age of Bharavi and——or the Literary History of the Pallava Period	670—688
Devadasis of India, The	689—691
Fish and Religion in South India	549—554
Human Sacrifices to Water Spirits	589—590 and 693—694
Jaina Teachers and their Contemporary Kings	499—505 and 563—572
Jivandhara, The Story of——in Kannada Literature ..	692
Kalpa Sutras and Apastambha	525—529
Kempegowda Chiefs, The	723—741
Malnad Chiefs	755—766
Mandalapurusha and his Age	487—493
Mysore Castes and Tribes	472—486 and 530—548
Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagar Empire	621—627 and 742—754
Pallava Inscriptions, Some	573—575
Periyapurana or the Lives of the Great Saiva Devotees ..	645—664
Pratima-Natakam, Bhasa's	595—606
Puranas, The	702—713
Purra-Nannuru, Some Lyrics from the	576—579
Satavahanas, The Home of the	591—594 and 776—777

PAGES

Solar Signs in Indian Literature .. .. .. 511—516 and 614—617
Sravana-belagola .. .. 430—437
St. Thomas and the Cross .. .. 778—779
Tippu Sultan, The Letters and Memoirs of .. .. 628—644
Tirumangai Alvar and Dantidurga .. .. .. 580—588 and 695—701
Velvikudi Plates, The——of Jatila Parantaka .. .. 448—458
Vijayanagar Empire, Mysore and the Decline of the—— .. 621—627 and 742—754
Vikrama Era, The Founder of the .. .. .. 506—510

Books, etc., Reviewed—

Archæological Report, Mysore——for the year 1922 .. 610
Do , Archæological Survey of India for 1919-20. 611—612
Do , Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the years 1919-20 and 1920-21. 612—613 and 717—718
Annals of the Mysore Royal Family, Vols. I and II .. .. 715—716
A Antiga India E. O. Mundo Externo 780
Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, Life and Times of——(in Tamil) .. 714—715
Conservation Manual 780
Census Report of Mysore for 1921 .. .. .. 785—786
Hindu Message, Vol. XI—No. 26, dated 26th April 1923 .. 781
Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. IX 716—717
Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute .. .. 784—785
Kempegowda, Magadi .. .. 521—522
Mahabharata, The——. Notes of a Study of the Preliminary Chapters being an attempt to separate genuine from spurious matter .. .. 517—518
"Perfume of Earth" 783
"Ramayana" 522
Records of the IV Madras Pioneers, 1759—1903 (Now the 64th Pioneers) .. .. 519—521
Siva Tattwa Ratnakara, A Prospectus 522
St. Thomas, the Apostle in India .. .. .. 607—609
Sanchi, Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at 612
South Indian Shrines 718
Sri Vaikhanasam, A journal published at Pannimadai, Coimbatore District 782

The Mythic Society

COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1922-23

PATRON.

His Highness THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.S.I., G.B.E.

Vice-Patrons.

His Highness THE MAHARAJA GAIKWAR OF BARODA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

His Highness THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.I.E.

His Highness THE MAHARAJA OF COCHIN, G.C.S.I.

Honorary Presidents.

The Hon'ble Col. Sir HUGH DALY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. V. COBB, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. P. BARTON, C.S.I., C.I.E.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

V. P. MADHAVA RAO, Esq., C.I.E.

Sir DORABJI TATA, Kt.

Rajasevadhurina Sir M. KANTARAJ URS, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

PRESIDENT.

RAJASABHABHUSHANA THE REV. A. M. TABARD, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

A. R. BANERJI, ESQ., M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E.
RAJADHARMAPRAVINA K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
RAJAMANTRAPRAVINA P. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
DR. BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, M.A., Ph.D.
RAJAKARYAPRASAKTA RAO BAHADUR M. SHAMA RAO, ESQ., M.A.
F. J. RICHARDS, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S.

General Secretary and Treasurer.

A. V. RAMANATHAN, ESQ., B.A.

Joint Secretary.

S. SRIKANTAIYA, ESQ., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

Editor.

F. R. SELL, ESQ., M.A.

Branch Secretaries.

FOR ETHNOLOGY—C. HAYAVADANA RAO, ESQ., B.A., B.L.
FOR RELIGIONS—THE REV. F. GOODWILL.
FOR HISTORY—K. DEVANATHACHARIAR, ESQ., M.A.
FOR FOLKLORE—V. R. THYAGARAJA IYER, ESQ., M.A.

Committee.

The above *ex-officio* and C. S. BALASUNDARAM IYER, ESQ., B.A., P. SAMPAT IYENGAR, ESQ., M.A., PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S., K. CHANDY, ESQ., B.A., K. SRINIVASA RAO, ESQ., G. T. HALL, ESQ., M.B.E., and Dr. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S.

Curator on the Premises.

T. SWAMINATHAIYA, ESQ.

The

Quarterly Journal

of the

Mythic Society

Vol. XIII] OCTOBER, 1922 [No. 1

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

Bangalore, July 31st, 1922.

CHIEF JUSTICE RAJADHARMAPRAVINA K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA IYER, ESQ., B.A., B.L.,
in the Chair.

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A., General Secretary, read the Report.

THE REPORT.

THE Committee of the Mythic Society have much pleasure in placing before you this evening the report of the Society's activities during its twelfth session.

This session will be ever memorable, as it was marked by the gracious recognition by His Highness the Maharaja of the unselfish and enthusiastic efforts of our President Rajasabhabhushana the Rev. Father A. M. Tabard in the cause of historical research in Mysore. The Committee take this opportunity of tendering their feelings of profound gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja for this further act of graciousness towards our work and for the continued favours that have been bestowed on the Society by His Highness since its commencement, and of offering once again our most cordial

congratulations to the President for this signal honor. The year is memorable also for the distinctions conferred on three of our prominent members by the Calcutta University, *viz.*, Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, M.A., Ph.D., and Dr. R. Shama Sastry, B.A., Ph.D.

MEMBERSHIP.—Membership stood at 539 on the last day of the year. We were fortunate during the year in securing the kindly interest and co-operation of Mr. B. L. Rice, C.I.E., the pioneer of Mysore archæology and of Dr. E. Hultzsch, the famous savant, late of the Madras Archæological Department, both of whom we have elected honorary members. The number of our life members has increased by 7. There are also 203 resident members, 290 mofussil members and 29 subscribers. The Committee once again appeal to the members to bring more of their friends into the Society. Within the last week, Mr. K. Shankaranarayana Rao and another valued member have kindly consented to convert their annual membership into life memberships.

FINANCE.—The year opened with a funded capital of Rs. 6,556 and a cash balance of Rs. 194. Our collections from subscriptions amounted to Rs. 1,850; donations from life members totalled Rs. 1,100, and grants Rs. 2,100. We have been able to add Rs. 1,444 to the funded capital, bringing our total investments to Rs. 8,000. Our printing charges and postage alone exceeded the amount realized by subscriptions by Rs. 657, this being due, mainly, to the high cost of printing and paper, the increasing bulk of the journal and the higher rates of postage. The Committee do not wish to raise the rate of subscription, and we hope that our membership will increase and help us to reach the figure 1,000 during the current year. Despite the above deficiency, we have, after meeting establishment, contingent and other miscellaneous charges, made valuable additions to our Library by purchasing books costing Rs. 720. Your Committee appeal to those members in arrears to remit their arrears immediately on receipt of the Treasurer's reminder and to one and all to remit the annual subscription immediately on receipt of the first number of the journal, in future.

MEETINGS.—During the year, we had ten ordinary meetings and one special meeting convened to do honour to our revered President on the distinction of 'Rajasabhabhushana' bestowed on him by our beloved Patron, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. The proceedings of this unique occasion have already been circulated with our journal. Among the ordinary meetings, prominent mention is due to the address by Dr. Clarke of the Chicago University on the "Influence of Oriental Literature on the West", and that on "Some Aspects of Indian History" by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar of Trivandrum. Rao Saheb Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar's and Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar's papers on "Mysore and

the decline of Vijayanagar" and "Sravanabelagola", respectively, are also worthy of special note. The Reverends J. Vanes and F. Goodwill with their usual kindness treated the members to two enjoyable lectures, and the latter illustrated his paper with lantern slides. Mr. Hayavadana Rao delivered two lectures during the year, one on "Primitive Religion in Mysore" and the other on "Mysore Castes and Tribes", both of which were widely appreciated. Mr. Chakravarti and Mr. R. Rama Rao helped to make the session full and interesting.

JOURNAL—With the kind help of the gentlemen already mentioned and of Dr. Hultzsch, Mr. B. V. Kameswara Iyer of Pudukotah, Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji, our Joint Secretary, who is now in Lucknow, as Head of the Department of Indian History in that University, Mr. P. V. Jagadeesa Iyer of Madras, Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra of Calcutta, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, lately Superintendent of Archæology in Trivandrum, Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati of the Madras Archæological Department and Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti of Ernakulam, your Committee have been able to maintain the high tone of our journal. Dr. Hultzsch's translation of Jivandhara will, we feel sure, help to create even a wider name for our journal. Dr. Hultzsch has taken a very lively interest in our Society's work during the year and it is through his kind co-operation that we have been able to purchase for our Library a valuable collection of Oriental Literature. We have been fortunate in securing still further additions to our list of exchanges during the year. The Smithsonian Institute, Washington, the Punjab Historical Society, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and several other journals have agreed to exchange their publications with us.

LIBRARY.—We have, during the year, as already stated, purchased a large number of books to complete our collections. You will have already noticed from the latest issue of our journal that the collection includes a fairly complete set of the German Oriental Society's Journal and a set of the Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research. We have also added to the Philosophy Section of our Library by purchasing a few books from the late Professor T. M. Seshagiri Sastry's Library, whose sons have presented us with several other volumes from the same Library.

Quite lately, we have been able to take over charge of the entire library of the late Pradhana Siromani Mr. T. Ananda Rao, through the generosity of his executors and residuary legatees and principally of Mr. T. Govinda Rao, one of our early members. These acquisitions have helped to make the library fairly complete and comprehensive. Thanks to the kindly assistance of Dr. F. W. Thomas, we have received during the year a complete set of the catalogues of the India Office Library, which is invaluable for research work.

The Committee wish to take this opportunity of conveying the grateful thanks of the Society to the several donors for the magnificent gifts.

THE HALL.—Thanks to the generous support continued by the Mysore Government, we have maintained our hall and grounds in excellent condition. Our portrait gallery has had valuable accessions during the year in the shape of the portraits of the Maharaja of Nepal and of Mr. B. L. Rice.

THE TABARD MEMORIAL.—With a view to commemorate the unique distinction bestowed on our President and perpetuate his memorable services to this Society, your Committee appealed to the members and other sympathizers for funds. They have been able to secure adequate funds for a gold medal to be competed for annually by graduates of the Indian Universities of not more than five years' standing. The Commitee have much pleasure in handing over to Father Tabard on this occasion bonds of the face value of Rs. 1,600 yielding an annual income of Rs. 100. The Committee hope that this foundation will help in a way, humble though it be, not only to commemorate the services of the President Founder of this Society, but also to further the cause we have at heart, namely, the promotion of a study of South Indian history, archæology, religions and allied subjects.

CONCLUSION.—In conclusion, we beg to express our deep sense of gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja, to His Highness the Yuvaraja, and His Highness the Maharaja's Government for the encouragement and help which was continued during the session. We are glad to avail ourselves of this opportunity of offering our heartiest congratulations to our Chairman, Rajadharmapravina Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer and to one of our Vice-Presidents, Rajamantrapravina P. Raghavendra Rao, on the distinctions conferred upon them by His Highness the Maharaja in the course of this session.

In proposing the adoption of the report, the Rev. A. M. Tabard said that it gave him great pleasure to see that this Society, unlike many similar societies in India, continued to be much alive, as witnessed by its many sided activities. He hoped that as the years go by it would continue to expand its scope of usefulness and attract a still larger number of members.

Since he had been honoured by His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore with a unique distinction, he considered himself somewhat of a Mysorean. He would then call, more particularly, on all Mysoreans to gather round him still more closely to make the Mythic Society a huge success for the glory of Mysore and Mysore's beloved Maharaja.

He concluded by saying that he was happy to avail himself of this opportunity to thank all those who have so generously contributed towards

a Fund through which his name will be for ever associated with the Mysore University.

The proposal that the report and accounts for 1921-22 be adopted was seconded by Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao and was unanimously accepted.

The re-election of Rajasabhabhushana Rev. A. M. Tabard as President which was proposed by Mr. V. R. Thyagaraja Iyer and seconded by Dr. M. Srinivasa Rao was carried by acclamation. The election of the Vice-Presidents was moved next by Mr. K. Chandy. In doing so he referred to the merit and attainment of two of them who were newly proposed as Vice-Presidents, *viz.*, Rajadharmapravina Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer and Dr. Brajendranath Seal and said that the inclusion of their names among Vice-Presidents would add to the fame of the Society. The motion was seconded by Mr. K. Shankaranarayana Rao, and carried with applause. The last proposition regarding the election of the other members of the committee having been proposed by Mr. K. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar and seconded by Rao Bahadur D. Shama Rao was also unanimously accepted.

The Chairman, rising amidst great applause, delivered the following address :—

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH.

FATHER TABARD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Let me first thank you for the honour you have done me in asking me to preside on this occasion. Let me thank you also for the kindly reference about me in your report.

I am pleased to have an opportunity of publicly paying a tribute of admiration to the invaluable services of the Reverend Father Tabard. His protestations notwithstanding, we all recognize in him the Father of the Mythic Society. He has not only secured the gracious patronage and continuing encouragement of the Mysore Royal House, but has enlisted the sympathy of various other rulers, princes and nobles, from distant Nepal in the North to Travancore in the South and from Cooch Behar in the East to Baroda in the West. The Society has earned recognition also from the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the Governments of the various Provinces and Indian States. Its unpaid ambassadors are found as far away as Japan and the United States. It has entered the company of similar Societies of much longer standing, not only in India but in Europe, America and Japan. All this is what Father Tabard has given us.

The royal recognition of his labours at the time of the last Dasara Durbar is a matter for great rejoicing. Father Tabard's genuine love of

Mysore and his sincere interest in the cause of historical research commands the admiration of all, and the form taken by the memorial which the Society has decided to establish in the Mysore University seems happily chosen and particularly appropriate. The rest of my task is easy. We have heard a very satisfactory report of the Society's work during the last year. Our membership remains steady, at a high figure. Our journal has continued to maintain its high level of excellence, and the ranks of contributors have been joined by valued and honoured scholars. Among other learned institutions, it has gained recognition by the Smithsonian Institute, the unique international body of scientific research in the United States of America. Our best thanks and congratulations are due to the President and his band of fellow-workers for this highly satisfactory progress.

The usefulness of this Society and its valuable record of work are so well-known that it will be an act of supererogation on my part to dilate upon them on this occasion.

The Society is unlike other learned bodies which conduct journals useful only to a select circle of pedants and experts. The pages of its journal contain, not only highly technical essays of advanced research but a number of papers presenting the results of research in a popular manner for the uninitiated, and it is a matter for surprise that it has not gained even a wider circulation. Of all studies, the study of man is of enthralling interest. And of all branches of the study of man, the story of his evolution, his efforts at reaching a higher level of existence, his endeavours for self-realization and the fulfilment of his divine destiny are elevating and ennobling. The Society is devoted to the scientific study of the increasing purpose which runs through all ages, and to supplying the missing links in the chain of India's endeavour to contribute its share to the attainment of the world's goal. In Mysore we are fortunate in having a wide variety of materials for study. Of inscriptions we have an abundance, from the days of Asoka onwards. Local coins have been found from the early years of the Christian era, and prehistoric antiquities are met with in cromlechs and cairns on all sides—nay even within a few yards of the Bangalore City Municipal limits. In architecture, we have a rare wealth of specimens as well as a school essentially local in origin and second to none in richness of detail, grandeur of design and perfection in execution. Of folklore, tradition and romance, we have a rich heritage which alas is fast being forgotten and which, particularly, the Society should make special efforts to collect and record before it is lost. This is a field in which every member of the Society can help, no matter how little his previous knowledge of the several sciences and how inadequate his equipment for unravelling the mysteries or for

elaborating the results of the material collected by him. If once the material is collected and placed on record, the experts may be left to attack them at their leisure. The wealth of Mysore in the fields of religion and philosophy is immense. Sri Sankara and Ramanuja, two principal reformers of early India, chose Mysore for their labours and have left abiding monuments of their work here. The early sect of Jains has left a rich store of monuments, tradition and literature. The latter day cult of Basava originated in Mysore and Mysore is the home of numerous other Mutts which kept alive the hoary traditions of old India. Mysore has been the nursery of various romantic royal and imperial dynasties. Many a chapter in the history of the Kaḍambas, the Gangas and the Hoysalas, not to mention several others of less note, yet remains to be written. The growth of the present Royal House affords ample scope for further study. All we now know of several Chieftains famous in tradition is their names, often disclosed by the names of their capitals and strongholds. Many a thrilling incident in their history has to be rescued from oblivion by a close study of local tradition, of popular ballads, of obscure *Veerakkals*, of undeciphered inscriptions in local temples and of records in local Mutts or other institutions. Considerable work has been done in the past by the Society, but vastly more remains to be done. I commend the appeal of the Secretary for more members, and I hope that every one of us will be able to introduce at least one friend into the Society during the current year. Funds are the next important point. The gentle reminder about arrears and prompt payment of subscriptions will, I am sure, have the desired effect, and I trust also that the appeal for more life memberships will meet with a hearty response.

The Rev. F. Goodwill proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair. This needless to say was carried unanimously. The meeting terminated with three cheers for His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

SRAVANA BELGOLA.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

BY PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR
R. NARASIMHACHAR.

ŚRAVANA BELGOLA is a place of considerable importance from various points of view—archæological, artistic, religious and antiquarian. I propose in this paper to give some details about the colossal statue of Gommaṭēśvara at the place and to make some observations on the tradition that the Maurya emperor Chandragupta visited the place in company with the Śrutakēvali Bhadrabāhu.

Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa or Beḷgoḷa of the *Śravaṇa* or *Śramaṇa*, a Jaina ascetic, is so named with reference to the colossal Jina image of the place, and its prefix Śravaṇa also serves to distinguish it from two other Beḷgoḷas with the prefixes Haḷe and Kōḍi in the same neighbourhood. One of the inscriptions names the place Dēvara Beḷgoḷa, that is, Beḷgoḷa of the god (Jina).

The usual derivation of Beḷgoḷa is from the two Kannaḍa words *beḷ*, white, and *koḷa*, by euphony *goḷa*, a pond, evidently in allusion to the splendid pond in the middle of the village; and this derivation derives support from the Sanskrit equivalents Svēta-sarōvara, Dhavaḷa-saras and Dhavaḷa-sarōvara used in the inscriptions to denote the place. The name Veḷgoḷa occurs in an inscription of about 650, and Beḷgoḷa in another of about 800. Other forms of the name occurring mostly in later inscriptions are Beḷguḷa, Beḷuguḷa and Beḷaguḷa, which have given rise to another derivation of the name from the herb white *guḷḷa* (the egg plant) in allusion to a tradition which says that a pious old woman completely anointed the colossal image with the milk she had brought in a *Guḷ'a-kāyi* or guḷḷa fruit. The place is also designated Gommaṭapura, the city of Gommaṭa (the name of the colossus), in some inscriptions and is called a *tīrtha* or holy place in several others. Further, the epithet Dakshiṇa-Kāśi or Southern Kāśi is applied to it in some modern inscriptions.

The village is situated in 12°51′ north latitude and 76°29′ east longitude, about eight miles to the south of Chennarāyapaṭṇa in the Chennarāyapaṭṇa Taluk of the Hāssan District of the Mysore State. It lies picturesquely between two rocky hills, one larger than the other, which stand up boldly from the plain and are covered with huge boulders. "In the whole beautiful

State of Mysore it would be hard to find a spot, where the historic and the picturesque clasp hands so firmly as here." * The place can be reached by motor either from the Arsikere or the French Rocks Railway Station; or the run can be made from Bangalore direct, a distance of about ninety-two miles to Chennarāyapaṭṇa and then another eight miles to the village. The larger hill, known as Doḍḍa-beṭṭa or Vindhyagiri, situated towards the south, has on it the colossal image of Gommaṭēśvara and a few *bastis* or Jina temples, while the smaller hill, known as Chikka-beṭṭa or Chandragiri, situated towards the north, has on it the oldest inscriptions and a large number of *bastis*.

Gommatesvara.

The image is nude and stands erect facing north. The face is a remarkable one, with a serene expression; the hair is curled in short spiral ringlets all over the head, while the ears are long and large. The figure is treated conventionally, the shoulders being very broad, the arms hanging straight down the sides, with the thumbs turned outwards. The waist is small. From the knee downwards the legs are somewhat dwarfed. Though not elegant, the image is not wanting in majestic and impressive grandeur. The figure has no support above the thighs. Up to that point it is represented as surrounded by ant-hills, from which emerge serpents; and a climbing plant twines itself round both legs and both arms, terminating at the upper part of the arm in a cluster of berries or flowers. According to the Jainas the plant is Mādhavi, a large creeper with fragrant white flowers, which springs up and blossoms in the hot weather. It appears to be known as *Kāḍu-Gulagunji* in Kannaḍa. The pedestal is designed to represent an open lotus, and upon this the artist worked a scale, corresponding to three feet four inches, which was probably used in laying out the work. Engraved near the left foot of the statue, the scale is divided into equal halves in the middle, where there is a mark resembling a flower.

According to some old residents of the place this measure, when multiplied by eighteen, gives the height of the image; but they cannot give any satisfactory reason for multiplying by eighteen. According to others the measure represents the length of a bow, but the length of a bow is supposed to be three and a half cubits and not three feet four inches. Owing to the great height of the image and the want of any point sufficiently elevated from which to take a picture of it, most of the representations fail to give a good idea of the features of the face, which are the most perfect part artistically and the most interesting.

"It is probable that Gommaṭa was cut out of a boulder which rested

* Workman's *Through Town and Jungle*, 80.

on the spot, as it would have been a work of great difficulty to transport a granite mass of this size up the oval hill-side. It is larger than any of the statues of Rameses in Egypt.

The figure is standing with shoulders squared and arms hanging straight. Its upper half projects above the surrounding ramparts. It is carved in a fine-grained light-grey granite, has not been injured by weather or violence, and looks as bright and clean as if just from the chisel of the artist.

The face is its strong point. Considering the size of the head, which from the crown to the bottom of the ear measures six feet six inches, the artist was skilful indeed to draw from the blank rock the wondrous contemplative expression touched with a faint smile, with which Gommaṭa gazes out on the struggling world.

Gommaṭēśvara has watched over India for only 1000 years, whilst the statues of Rameses have gazed upon the Nile for more than 4000. The monolithic Indian saint is thousands of years younger than the prostrate Rameses or the guardians of Abu Simbal but he is more impressive, both on account of his commanding position on the brow of the hill overlooking the wide stretch of plain and of his size."*

"The statues of this Jaina saint (Gommaṭa) are among the most remarkable works of native art in the south of India. Three of them are well known, and have long been known to Europeans. That at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa attracted the attention of the late Duke of Wellington when, as Sir A. Wellesley, he commanded a division at the siege of Seringapatam. He, like all those who followed him, was astonished at the amount of labour such a work must have entailed, and puzzled to know whether it was a part of the hill or had been moved to the spot where it now stands. The former is the more probable theory. The hill is one mass of granite about 400 feet in height, and probably had a mass or Tor standing on its summit—either a part of the subjacent mass or lying on it. This the Jains undertook to fashion into a statue 58 feet in height, and have achieved it with marvellous success. The task of carving a rock standing in its place the Hindu mind never would have shrunk from, had it even been twice the size; but to move such a mass up the steep smooth side of the hill seems a labour beyond their power, even with all their skill in concentrating masses of men on a single point. Whether, however, the rock was found *in situ* or was moved, nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height, though, it must be confessed, they do excel it in the perfection of art they exhibit."†

* Workman's *Through Town and Jungle*, 82-84.

† Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, 72.

Inscription No. 234, of about 1180, which is in the form of a short Kannaḍa poem in praise of Gommaṭa, composed by the Jaina poet Boppaṇa, also known as Sujanōttamsa, gives the following particulars about Gommaṭa :—

'He was the son of Purudēva or the first Tīrthankara and the younger brother of Bharata. His other name was Bāhubali or Bhujabali. There was a struggle for empire between the brothers which resulted in Bāhubali generously handing over the kingdom of the earth to the defeated elder brother and retiring from the world in order to do penance. He thus became a Kēvali, and attained such eminence by his victory over *Karma*, that Bharata erected at Paudanapura an image in his form, 525 bow-lengths in height. In course of time the region around the image having become infested with innumerable *Kukkuṭa-sarpas* or cockatrices, the statue came to be known as Kukkuṭēśvara. It afterwards became invisible to all except the initiated. But Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya, having heard a description of it, set out with the desire of seeing it. Finding, however, that the journey was beyond his power owing to the distance and inaccessibility of the region, he resolved to erect such an image himself and with great effort succeeded in getting this statue made and set up.'

The same inscription describes Gommaṭa thus :—

'When an image is very lofty, it may not have beauty; when possessed of loftiness and real beauty, it may not have supernatural power; loftiness, real beauty and mighty supernatural power being all united in it, how worthy of worship in the world is the glorious form, comparable to itself, of Gommatēśvara-Jina ? When it is said that Maya (the artist of the gods), Indra and the lord of serpents are unable respectively to draw a likeness, to take a full view and to undertake the praise of it, who else are then able to draw a likeness, to take a full view and to undertake the praise of the matchless form of wondrous beauty of the southern Kukkuṭēśvara ? The famous world of the Nāgas always forming the foundation, the earth the base, the points of the compass the walls, the region of heaven the roof, the cars of the gods above the towers, and the cluster of brilliant stars the inner broad jewel-awning, the three worlds enlightened by Jina's sayings have thus become the abode of Gommaṭēśa. Is he of matchless beauty ? He is Cupid; is he mighty ? He is the conqueror of the emperor Bharata; is he liberal ? He gave back the whole earth though he had completely conquered it; is he free from attachment ? He is engaged in penance and contents himself with the two feet of earth given to him; is he possessed of perfect knowledge ?, he has destroyed the bonds of *Karma* ;—this said, how exalted is Bāhubalīśa ? No man shall take pleasure in killing, lying, stealing, adultery and covetousness;

if he does, he will lose for ever this world and the next; lo! Gommaṭadēva looks as if proclaiming this standing on high. The ant-hills and the pressing and entwining creepers on the body looking as if the earth and creeper-like women owing to their grief came and tightly embraced him, saying "why have you forsaken us", the state of Gommaṭadēva's intense application to penance was worthy to be honored by the lords of serpents, gods and sages.'

The account given of Gommaṭa in this inscription is repeated with some additions and variation in the details in several literary works, such as the *Bhujabali-charite,* of about 1550, by Doḍḍaiya of Piriyapaṭṭaṇa, the *Bhujabali-śataka,* of 1614, by Pañchabāṇa of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, the *Gommaṭēśvara-charite,* of about 1780, by Anantakavi, the *Rājāvaḷi-kathe,* of 1838, by Dēvachandra, and *Sthaḷa-purāṇa* of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. Of these, the first work is in Sanskrit and the others in Kannaḍa. *Bhujabali-charite* states that Ādinātha had two sons, Bharata by his wife Yaśavati and Bhujabali by his other wife Sunande. Bhujabali married Ichchhādēvi and was the ruler of Paudanapura. Owing to some misunderstanding there was a battle between the two brothers, in which Bharata was defeated. Bhujabali, however, renounced the kingdom and became an ascetic. Bharata had a golden statue, 525 *mārus* * in height, of Bhujabali made and set up. Only the gods worshipped the image, the region having become inaccessible to human beings owing to *Kukkuta-sarpas* which infested it.

A Jaina teacher, named Jinasēna, who visited southern Madhurā, gave an account of the image at Paudanapura to Kāḷaladēvi, mother of Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya, who vowed that she would not taste milk until she saw Gommaṭa. Being informed of this by his wife Ajitādēvi, Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya set out with his mother on his journey to Paudanapura. In the course of the journey he stopped at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. The same night Padmāvati and Brahma appeared to him in a dream and said, "Around the god at Paudanapura to a considerable distance *Kukkuṭa-sarpas* keep guard and will not allow any one to approach. It is not therefore possible for you to see him. Pleased with your devotion, he will, however, manifest himself to you on the summit of the larger hill. Purify yourself and discharge a golden shot from your bow from the smaller hill and the god will instantly become visible." The mother, too, had a similar dream. The next morning Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya purified himself and standing on a rock on the smaller hill, facing south, discharged from his bow a golden shot to a boulder on the larger hill. As soon as the shot struck the boulder, the head of Gommaṭa revealed itself. When afterwards the officiating priest placed a diamond

* The measure of a man with extended arms across the chest.

chisel on the boulder and struck it with a jewel hammer, the layers of stone fell off and the full image became visible.

He then made elaborate arrangements for performing the *abhishēka* or anointment of Gommaṭa. But, to his grief, the milk used for anointing the image would not descend lower than the thighs. Being at a loss to know the reason for this, he sought the advice of his guru who directed him to use for anointment the little milk that an old woman had brought in a white *guḷḷa-kāyi*. When the priests poured this milk on the head of the image, it instantly ran down all over the statue in streams and covered the hill. The old woman was henceforward known as Guḷḷa-kāyajji. Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya then founded a village at the foot of the hill and granted for the god villages of the revenue value of 96,000 *varahas*. When he asked his guru Ajitasēna as to the name to be bestowed on the village newly built, he said, "As the old woman who had brought milk in a white *guḷḷa-kāyi* obtained celebrity by immersing the god in that milk, it is appropriate that the village should be named Beḷgoḷa". He accordingly named the village Beḷgoḷa and had also a stone image of Guḷḷakāyajji made.

The items of additional and variant information given in the remaining works may now be briefly noticed. The *Bhujabali-śataka* of Doḍḍaiya states that king Rājamalla, a lay disciple of Simhanandi, was the ruler of Madhurā in the Drāviḍa country. His minister was the Brahmakshatra-śikhāmaṇi Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya, a lay disciple of Simhanandi's disciple Ajitasēna and of Nēmichandra. It was a merchant that informed Rājamalla of the existence of an image of Gommaṭa made of the precious stone *Karkētana* at Paudanapura. On hearing this Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya took leave of the king and set out with his mother and his guru Nēmichandra. When he shot golden arrows from the smaller hill, Gommaṭa of Paudanapura became manifest on the larger hill. He granted a number of villages for the god and King Rājamalla, on hearing of his munificence, bestowed upon him the title of Rāya. The *Gommaṭēśvaracharite* tells us that on Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya shooting arrows the image of Gommaṭa revealed itself to him. He got it touched up and improved by sculptors and then had it consecrated. The *Sthaḷa-puraṇa*, an English translation of which is given in the *Indian Antiquary* (II, 130), states that Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya, on his way to Paudanapura, heard of the existence of a statue of Gommaṭa, 18 bows high, at Beḷgoḷa. He consecrated the image and granted for it villages of the revenue value of 1,96,000 *varahas*. Guḷḷakāyajji was the goddess Padmāvati who, in order to break the pride with which Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya had become elated at the accomplishment of his vast undertaking, appeared, by order of the god, in the guise of an aged poor woman at the time of the anointment of the statue.

According to the *Rājāvaḷi-kathe* she was the goddess Kūshmāṇḍini. This work further says that the image of Gommaṭa at Beḷgoḷa was formerly worshipped by Rāma and Rāvaṇa, as also by the latter's wife Maṇḍōdari. The *Munivaṁśābhyudaya* of Chidānandakavi (c. 1680) furnishes the information that Rāma and Sītā brought the images of Gommaṭa and Pārśva from Lankā and were worshipping them respectively on the larger and the smaller hills. Unable to lift them up, they left them there and went their way.

As stated before, inscription No. 234 makes the clear statement that Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya had the statue of Gommaṭa made. The same statement is also made in inscription No. 254 of 1398. We have further synchronous records Nos. 175, 176, and 179 in Kannaḍa, Tamil and Mahrāṭhi languages respectively engraved at the sides of the image itself stating the same fact. The period of the last three inscriptions is evidently that of Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya who, according to inscription No. 345, of about 1159, was the minister of the Ganga king Rājamalla whose reign began in 974 and ended in about 984. Between these dates must the statue have been erected, since according to tradition the consecration took place during Rājamalla's reign. But as a Kannaḍa work on the 24 Tīrthankaras, popularly known as Chāmuṇḍarāya-purāṇa, composed by Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya in 978, does not mention the erection of the statue in the long account it gives of the author's achievements, it is reasonable to conclude that the image was set up after 978. We may in the absence of more precise information put down the date of the completion of the colossus and of these inscriptions as 983. In the face of these inscriptions recording in unambiguous language that Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya had the image made, it is needless to say anything about the stories mentioned above regarding its existence from the time of Rāma and Rāvana. The traditional date of the consecration of Gommaṭa by Chāmuṇḍa-Rāya given in several literary works is Sunday the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra of the cyclic year Vibhava corresponding to the year 600 of the Kaliyuga era

Different estimates of the height of Gommaṭa have been given, 70 feet 3 inches by Buchanan and 60 feet 3 inches by Sir Arthur Wellesley. Mr. Bowring, then Chief Commissioner of Mysore, says, "The colossal statue was measured by my order on the 1st of January 1865 and the height then assigned was 57 feet. The measurement was made by the Amildar." In his *Eastern Experiences* (page 74) he says, "A platform was specially erected to ascertain the exact height of the statue, which was found to be 57 feet, and not 70 feet, as generally supposed." Measurements of the different parts of the image taken by an officer of the Public Works

Department in 1871 are given on page 129 of volume II of the *Indian Antiquary*. Advantage was taken of the platforms and scaffolding then erected for the anointment of the god to secure accurate measurements, but owing to the interference of the priests the work could not be completed. The following were the dimensions obtained :—

	Feet.	Inches.
Total height to the bottom of the ear	50	0
From the bottom of the ear to the crown of the head, (not measured) about	6	6
Length of the foot	9	0
Breadth across the front of the foot	4	6
Length of the great toe	2	9
Half girth at the instep	6	4
Do of the thigh	10	0
From the hip to the ear	24	6
Do Coccyx to the ear	20	0
Breadth across the pelvis	13	0
Do at the waist	10	0
From the waist and elbow to the ear	17	0
From the armpit to the ear	7	0
Breadth across the shoulders	26	0
From the base of the neck to the ear	2	6
Length of the forefinger	3	6
Do middle finger	5	3
Do third finger	4	7
Do fourth finger	2	8

These measurements appear to be fairly correct. The height of the statue may be put down at 57 feet. In a palm-leaf manuscript in the private library of Mr. Aramane Jinachandraiya at Mysore which I examined a few years ago I came across a number of Sanskrit stanzas composed by a Jaina poet of the name of Śāntarāja-paṇḍita giving the measurements of the different parts of the image in *hastas* (cubits) and *angulas* (finger-breadths). This poet, who bore the title of Kavi-Chakravarti or emperor of poets, also wrote in 1820 a big Sanskrit poem styled *Sarasajanachintamaṇi*. The stanzas mentioned above are sixteen in number. We learn from the last stanza that the poet himself took the measurements by order of his patron the Mysore king Kṛishṇa-Rāja-Oḍeyar III, on the occasion of the anointment of the god caused to be performed by that king. In the first stanza he states that the measurements are given for the pious contemplation of his co-religionists and for the astonishment of the adherents

of other religions. There seems to be some mistake in stanza 14. The following are the measurements given :—

	Cubits	Finger-breadths.
From the foot to the crown of the head ...	$36\frac{1}{8}$	0
From the foot to the navel	20	0
From the navel to the head	$16\frac{1}{8}$	0
From the chin to the crown of the head ...	6	3
Length of the ear	$2\frac{3}{4}$	0
From ear to ear	8	0
Girth of the neck	$10\frac{3}{4}$	0
Height of the neck	$1\frac{3}{4}$	0
From shoulder to shoulder	16	0
The lines around the nipple	4	9
Girth of the waist	20	0
From the shoulder to the middle finger ...	$18\frac{1}{2}$	0
Girth of the wrist	$6\frac{1}{2}$	0
Length of the thumb	$2\frac{1}{4}$	0
Length of the great toe	$4\frac{1}{2}$?	0
Length of the foot	4	1

According to the poet the height of the statue is 54 feet 3 inches. He also gives the dimensions of several parts not given in the previous list.

Reference has been made to the anointment of Gommaṭa. This is popularly known as *mastakābhishēka* or the head-anointing ceremony, and is performed only at certain conjunctions of the heavenly bodies at intervals of several years, and at a great cost. It is called *mahābhishēka* in inscription No. 231, of about 1500, which seems to fix the amounts to be paid to the officiating priests, the stone masons, carpenters and other workmen, and for the supply of milk and curds. The earliest reference to *mastakābhishēka* is found in No. 254 of 1398, which states that Paṇḍitārya had it performed seven times. The poet Pañchabāṇa refers to an anointment caused to be performed by one Śāntavarṇi in 1612, Anantakavi to another conducted at the expense of Viśālāksha-paṇḍita, the Jaina minister of the Mysore king Chikka-Dēva-Rāja-Oḍeyar, in 1677, and Śāntarāja-paṇḍita, as stated above, to a third caused to be performed by the Mysore king Kṛishṇa-Rāja-Oḍeyar III in about 1825. Reference is made to a similar ceremony performed in 1827 in No. 223, to another in 1871 in the *Indian Antiquary* (II, 129) and to another still in 1887 in the *Harvest Field* (for May 1887). The latest, to my knowledge, was the one conducted in 1909. The anointment performed in 1887 was at the expense of the Kolhāpūr Svāmi, who is

said to have spent Rs. 30,000 for the purpose. The following account of the ceremony is taken from the *Harvest Field*:—

The 14th March last was the day of anointing for the statue of Gommaṭēśvara. It was a great day, in anticipation of which 20,000 pilgrims gathered there from all parts of India. There were Bengalis there, Gujaratis also, and Tamil people in great numbers. Some arrived a full month before the time and the stream continued to flow until the afternoon of the day of the great festival. For a whole month there was daily worship in all the temples, and *pāda-pūja* or worship of the feet of the great idol besides. On the great day, the 14th, the people began to ascend the hill even before dawn in the hope of securing good places from which to see everything. Among them were large numbers of women and girls in very bright attire, carrying with them brass or earthen pots. By 10 o'clock all available space in the temple enclosure was filled. Opposite the idol an area of 40 square feet was strewed with bright yellow paddy, on which were placed 1000 gaily painted earthenware pots, filled with sacred water, covered with cocoanuts and adorned with mango leaves. Above the image was scaffolding, on which stood several priests, each having at hand pots filled with ghee, milk and such like things. At a signal from the Kolhāpūr Svāmi, the master of the ceremonies, the contents of these vessels were poured simultaneously over the head of the idol. This was a sort of preliminary bath, but the grand bath took place at 2 o'clock. Amid the horrible dissonance of many instruments the thousand pots already mentioned were lifted as if by magic from the reserved area to the scaffolding and all their contents poured over the image, the priests meanwhile chanting texts from the sacred books. Evidently the people were much impressed. There were mingled cries of 'Jai Jai Mahārāja', and 'Ahaha, ahaha', the distinctive exclamations of Northern and Southern Indians to mark their wonder and approval. In the final anointing fifteen different substances were used, namely, water, cocoanut meal, plantains, jaggery, ghee, sugar, almonds, dates, poppy seeds, milk, curds, sandal, gold flowers, silver flowers, and silver coin. With the gold and silver flowers there were mixed nine varieties of precious gems; and silver coin to the amount of Rs. 500 completed the offering.

There is a story that, after the conversion of the Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana to the Vaishṇava faith, the Vaishṇava apostle Rāmānujāchārya mutilated the statue of Gommaṭa so as to ruin it as an object of worship. No trace, however, remains of such injury, unless it be that the forefinger of the left hand which is shorter than it should be, had a piece struck off below the first joint and was afterwards sculptured into a perfect finger again. This particular form of desecration would easily have suggested itself if it be true,

as tradition has it, that the change of the king's religion was in some degree brought about by the refusal of his Jaina guru to take food from him by reason of the king's mutilation in the shape of the loss of one of his fingers.

There are two more colossal images of Gommaṭa known to exist, one at Kārkaḷa, and the other at Ēnūr, both in the South Kanara District. The image at Kārkaḷa, 41 feet 5 inches high, was erected by Vīra-Pāṇḍya in 1432 at the advice of the Jaina teacher Lalitakīrti of Panasōge, while that at Ēnūr, 35 feet high, was set up in 1604 by Timmarāja of the family of Chāmuṇḍa at the instance of Chārukīrti-paṇḍita of Beḷgoḷa. The Kārkaḷa statue was moved to the spot where it now stands. In a Kannaḍa poem named *Kārkaḷada-Gommaṭēśvara-charite* written by Chandrama in about 1646, it is stated that the statue was placed on a long cart of twenty wheels and dragged up and that the process occupied a month. These two images are identical with the one at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in the way in which they are represented, but differ considerably in the features of the face. The Beḷgoḷa statue is not only the most ancient in date and considerably the highest of the three, but from its striking position on the top of a very steep hill and the consequently greater difficulty involved in its execution is by far the most interesting. Of the accessories of these images, the ant-hills, with serpents issuing from them, which surround the lower limbs, and the climbing plant which twines round both legs and arms are worthy of notice. They are found in all the three statues, and are intended to symbolize the complete absorption in penance of the ideal ascetic until the ant-hills arose at his feet and creeping plants grew round his limbs.

The tradition regarding the visit to Sravana Belgola of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta.

Briefly the tradition runs thus :—Bhadrabāhu, the last Śrutakēvali, predicted a twelve years' drought and famine in the north, whereupon the Jaina community migrated under his leadership to the south. Chandragupta, the Maurya emperor, abdicated and accompanied Bhadrabāhu as his disciple. On reaching Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa Bhadrabāhu, perceiving that his end was approaching, ordered the community to proceed on their journey, remained on the smaller hill and died there, tended in his last moments by his disciple Chandragupta. The latter lived there as an ascetic for some years, worshipping the footprints of his guru, and ultimately died by the Jaina rite of *sallēkhanā* or starvation.

We may now proceed to mention a few facts derived from local history, inscriptions and literature which appear to give support to this tradition. The smaller hill at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa is said to derive its name Chandragiri from the fact that Chandragupta lived and performed penance there. The

Chandragupta-basti, one of the oldest temples on the same hill, is said to be so called because it was caused to be erected by Chandragupta. There is, moreover, a cave on this hill, known as the cave of Bhadrabāhu, containing his footprints, in which he is said to have expired. Inscription 166, of about 1100, in the cave refers to worship being done to the footprints of Bhadrabāhu. Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kāvēri near Seringapatam, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, III, Seringapatam 147 and 148, of about 900, describe the summit of Chandragiri as marked by the impress of the feet of the great sages Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta. Among the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa itself, 31, of about 650, refers to the pair of the great sages Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta, and states that the Jaina religion which had greatly prospered when they shed lustre on it, having become a little weak, the sage Śāntisēna renovated it; 67, of 1129, mentions Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta who, through the merit of being his disciple, was served for a long time by the forest deities; 64, of 1163, speaks of Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śrutakēvalis, and of his disciple Chandragupta, by whose glory the sages of his *Gaṇa* were worshipped by the forest deities; and 258, of 1432, after extolling the lord of ascetics Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śrutakēvalis, says that his disciple was Chandragupta, who was bowed to by the chief gods on account of his perfect conduct and the fame caused by the greatness of whose severe penance spread into other worlds.

In literature the *Bṛihatkathākōśa*, a Sanskrit work written by Harishēṇa in 931, says that Bhadrabāhu, the last of the Śrutakēvalis, had the king Chandragupta as his disciple. The account of Bhadrabāhu given in this work may be summarized thus:—In the Pauṇḍravardhana country King Padmaratha was reigning in the city of Dē akoṭṭa which was formerly known as Kōṭipura. He had a Brāhman dependant of the name of Sōmaśarma who by his wife Sōmaśrī had a son named Bhadrabāhu. One day when Bhadrabāhu was at play with other children at Dēvakoṭṭa, Gōvardhana, the fourth Śrutakēvali, happened to see him, and perceiving that he was destined to be the fifth Śrutakēvali, took charge of him with his father's consent and taught him all sciences. Soon after Bhadrabāhu received *dīkshe* (or the rite of initiation) from Gōvardhana and became an ascetic. In his wanderings he went to Ujjain and stopped in a garden on the bank of the Siprā. At that time the king of Ujjain was the pious Jaina layman Chandragupta whose queen was Suprabhā. While out to beg for alms, Bhadrabāhu went to a house where there was only an infant crying in its cradle which told him to go away. On hearing this he came to the conclusion that there would be a twelve years' drought in that country, and spoke to the *saṅgha* or community thus:—"There will be a twelve years' famine here. As my end

is approaching, I shall stay here alone. You go to the south." When he heard of this, King Chandragupta received *dīkshe* from Bhadrabāhu. Chandragupti-muni, the first of the Daśapūrvis, became the head of all the *saṅghas* under the name of Viśākhāchārya. By order of Bhadrabāhu he led the *saṅgha* to the Punnāṭa kingdom in the south. Bhadrabāhu went to that part of Ujjayini known as Bhādrapada, fasted for many days and expired. When the twelve years of famine were ended, Viśākhāchārya, disciple of Bhadrabāhu, returned with the *saṅgha* from the south to Madhyadēśa or the middle country.

Another Sanskrit work, named *Bhadrabāhucharita*, by Ratnanandi, disciple of Anantakīrti and pupil of Lalitakīrti, which appears to belong to about the fifteenth century, also gives an account of Bhadrabāhu. The account given in this work, though similar in many respects to the one given above, differs from it in some important particulars. Padmadhara was the king of Kōṭapura in Bharatavarsha and Sōmaśarma his family priest. Bhadrabāhu distinguished himself in disputations at the court of king Padmadhara. He succeeded his guru Gōvardhana as *āchārya* or teacher. Chandragupti, the king of Ujjain, showed him great honor and requested him one day to interpret the dreams which he had had the previous night. On hearing the interpretation he renounced the world and took *dīkshe* from the guru. Predicting a twelve years' famine and advising his followers to leave the country, Bhadrabāhu, saying "we shall go to Karṇāṭa," went to the south accompanied by twelve thousand disciples. On coming to a forest, perceiving that his end was approaching, he appointed Viśākhāchārya to his own place and directed him to lead the *saṅgha* to the south. Chandragupti alone stayed behind to attend on his guru, while the rest proceeded to the Chōḷa country. Soon after, Bhadrabāhu took the vow of *sallēkhanā* or starvation and expired. The sage Chandragupti, drawing a likeness of his guru's feet, was worshipping them. On his return, Viśākhāchārya paid homage at the tomb of Bhadrabāhu, and having been treated with due honor by Chandragupti-muni, left for Kanyakubja.

The Kannaḍa work *Munivamśābhyudaya* by Chidānandakavi (c. 1680) gives incidentally some information about Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta. It says :—"The Śrutakēvali Bhadrabāhu came to Beḷgoḷa and lived on Chikkabeṭṭa. A tiger sprang upon him and killed him. Even now his feet are worshipped in a cave on the hill. ....Dakshiṇāchārya came to Beḷgoḷa by order of the Jaina sage Arhadbali. Chandragupta, who had also come there on a pilgrimage, took *dīkshe* from Dakshiṇāchārya and was worshipping the god in the temple founded by him and the footprints of Bhadrabāhu. Some time after, Dakshiṇāchārya bestowed his own position on Chandragupta."

The account given of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta in the *Rājāvali-kathe*, another Kannaḍa work written by Dēvachandra in 1838, is mostly similar to that given by Ratnanandi, but it adds many more details which are not, however, of much importance. It states that, while Bhadrabāhu was at the court of Padmaratha, the king showed him a writing which no one could understand, and he at once interpreted it, thus giving proof of his learning and discernment. Chandragupta, the king of Pāṭalīpura, on the night of the full moon in the month of Kārtika, had sixteen dreams. On the next day, being informed by the keeper of the royal garden of the arrival of Bhadrabāhu there, he immediately went forth with all his councillors to do him reverence, and after receiving his blessing, informed him of the dreams. Bhadrabāhu interpreted them all, the interpretation of the last dream in which the king saw a twelve-headed serpent approaching, being that a twelve years' famine would come upon the land. One day, when Bhadrabāhu went on his round to beg for alms, he stood before a house where there was an infant crying in its cradle; and so loud were its cries that although he called out twelve times no one heeded. From this sign he knew that the twelve years' famine had commenced. The king's ministers offered many sacrifices to avert the calamity, but Chandragupta, to atone for their sin in taking life, abdicated in favour of his son Simhasēna, and, taking *dīkshe*, joined himself to Bhadrabāhu. And Bhadrabāhu, predicting that all rain and cultivation would cease in the north and that the people would die of starvation, collected a body of twelve thousand disciples and went southwards. On coming to a certain hill he perceived that his end was approaching. He therefore committed all the disciples to Viśākhāchārya's care and sent them on under his guidance to the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries. Chandragupta alone received permission to remain, and he, on his guru's death, performed the funeral rites and took his abode in a cave, worshipping his footprints. Some years later he died on the hill.

Finally, we may also notice briefly inscription No. 1, perhaps the oldest epigraph at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, on which the whole tradition is apparently based. It says:—"Bhadrabāhu-svāmi, of a lineage rendered illustrious by a succession of great men, who was acquainted with the true nature of the eight-fold omens and was a seer of the past, the present and the future, having learnt from an omen and foretold in Ujjayini a calamity lasting for a period of twelve years, the entire *saṅgha* (or Jaina community) set out from the North to the South and reached by degrees a populous and prosperous country. Then, separating himself from the *saṅgha*, an *āchārya* (or teacher), Prabhāchandra by name, perceiving that but little time remained for him to live and desiring to accomplish *samādhi* or religious suicide

on this mountain, bade farewell to, and dismissed, the *saṅgha* in its entirety, and in company with a single disciple, mortifying his body on the wide expanse of the cold rocks, accomplished (*samādhi*)."

It will be seen from the accounts given above that the evidence in support of the tradition is not conclusive: it is even discrepant on some important points. Inscription No. 1 does not say that Bhadrabāhu led the *saṅgha*; and Harishēṇa clearly states that Bhadrabāhu did not go with the *saṅgha* but died in a part of Ujjayini known as Bhādrapada. But the two inscriptions near Seringapatam, probably a little older than Harishēṇa's period, describe the summit of Chandragiri as marked by the impress of the feet of the great sages Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta, thus indicating that the two lived there, and a still earlier inscription on Chandragiri itself, No. 31, refers to the same two sages though it does not expressly state that they lived there. All accounts are, however, agreed on two points, namely, the prediction of the famine by Bhadrabāhu and the migration of the Jaina community to the South. There is also a fair amount of agreement with regard to the fact that this Bhadrabāhu was the Śrutakēvali of that name and that he had one Chandragupta as his disciple. The question is who this Chandragupta was, and tradition gives the unequivocal answer that he was the Maurya emperor of that name, the grandfather of Aśōka. The late Dr. Fleet was of opinion that the story that the Maurya emperor Chandragupta went with Bhadrabāhu to Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and ended his days there in religious retirement had no solid foundation. He tried to show that the Bhadrabāhu of inscription No. 1 was a later one of that name who lived in the first century B.C. and wrongly identified Chandragupta with Guptigupta.

Though the evidence in support of the tradition is not quite conclusive, there are a few important facts which have to be taken into careful consideration before arriving at a decision one way or the other.

1. As Dr. Leumann says*, the migration to the South is "the initial fact of the Digambara tradition." After a critical examination of Jaina *paṭṭāvaḷis* or succession lists of gurus, Dr. Hoernle says†:—"Before Bhadrabāhu the Jain community was undivided, with him the Digambaras separated from the Śvētāmbaras............... The question is who this Bhadrabāhu was. The Śvētāmbara *paṭṭāvaḷis* know only one Bhadrabāhu, who, from the dates assigned to him by the Śvētāmbaras and Digambaras alike, must be identical with the Bhadrabāhu I of the Digambaras. Considering the varying and contradictory character of the Digambara traditions, the

* *Vienna Oriental Journal*, VII, 382.
† *I. A.*, XXI, 59-60.

probability is that the inception of the great separation took place under Bhadrabāhu I, who died 162 A. V. according to the Digambaras, or 170 A. V. according to the Śvētāmbaras....... The Digambara separation originally took place as a result of the migration southwards under Bhadrabāhu in consequence of a severe famine in Bīhar, the original home of the undivided Jaina community." Here is some evidence of the migration having taken place under the Śrutakēvali Bhadrabāhu.

2. The Maurya emperor Chandragupta was a Jaina and a contemporary of the Śrutakēvali Bhadrabāhu. Mr. Thomas says*:—"That Chandragupta was a member of the Jaina community is taken by their writers as a matter of course and treated as a known fact which needed neither argument nor demonstration. The documentary evidence to this effect is of comparatively early date and apparently absolved from suspicion....... The testimony of Megasthenes would likewise seem to imply that Chandragupta submitted to the devotional teaching of the Śramaṇas as opposed to the doctrines of the Brāhmans." The same writer goes on to prove that the successors of Chandragupta were also Jainas. That Aśōka was a Jaina at first and afterwards became a Buddhist, he deduces from the statements of that monarch's edicts, as also from the statement of Abul Fazl in the *Aín-i-Akbari* that Aśōka introduced Jainism into Kāshmir. This is confirmed by the *Raja-taranginị* or Brāhmanical history of Kāshmir, which states that Aśōka brought in the Jina-śāsana. In the Sanskrit play named *Mudrā-Rakshasa* which dramatises the story of Chandragupta's accession to the throne of the Nandas, we see that the Jainas held a prominent position at the time, and Chāṇakya, Chandragupta's minister, who was the prime agent in the revolution, employs a Jaina as one of his chief emissaries.

3. Chandragupta's disappearance from public life at a comparatively young age requires some satisfactory explanation. He ascended the throne in or about 322 B.C. when quite young and must have been under fifty when his reign came to a close twenty-four years later about 298 B.C. He is not expressly stated to have died, and no special reason appears for his death at this early age. Had he fallen in battle, or his life been cut short by accident or disease, the circumstance could not fail to have been mentioned. On the other hand, if he retired from the throne in order to devote himself to an ascetic life in the last stage of his existence under the guidance of the most distinguished Jaina teacher then living, namely, the Śrutakēvali Bhadrabāhu, this would afford a reasonable explanation of his early disappearance from public notice and of the silence regarding his further career. It is also worthy of notice that the end of his reign coincides with the generally accepted date

* *Jainism, or the Early Faith of Aśōka*, 23.

of Bhadrabāhu's death. And tradition says that he lived for twelve years after the decease of Bhadrabāhu. His death then occurred when he was about sixty-two years of age, which seems more natural.

4. It is very probable that the Dekhan and the north of Mysore were included in the Maurya empire. For the Edicts of Aśōka found at Māski in the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldrug District in Mysore bear evidence to this fact. Early Tamil literature contains several references to the invasion of South India by the Mōriyar or Mauryas. There are also inscriptions in Mysore which state that Kuntala, a province which included the western Dekhan and the north of Mysore, was ruled by the Nandas. But these are of comparatively modern date, the twelfth century. Vincent A. Smith says* : "At present there is no good evidence that his (Chandragupta's) conquests extended into the Deccan, but it is possible that he may have carried his victorious arms across the Narbadā. Late traditions in Mysore go so far as to assert the extension of the Nanda dominion to that country."

A dispassionate consideration of the above-mentioned facts leads one to the conclusion that the Jaina tradition has some basis to stand upon. The evidence may not be quite decisive, but it may be accepted as a working hypothesis until the contrary is proved by future research. Vincent A. Smith, after a careful consideration of all the points bearing on the subject, arrived at a similar conclusion. He says † :—

" The only direct evidence throwing light on the manner in which the eventful reign of Chandragupta Maurya came to an end is that of Jain tradition. The Jains always treat the great emperor as having been a Jain like Bimbisāra, and no adequate reason seems to exist for discrediting their belief. The Jain religion undoubtedly was extremely influential in Magadha during the time of the later Śaiśunāgas, the Nandas, and the Mauryas. The fact that Chandragupta won the throne by the contrivance of a learned Brāhman is not inconsistent with the supposition that Jainism was the royal faith. In the drama cited above (*Mudrā-Rakshasa*) a Jain ascetic is mentioned as being a special friend of the minister Rākshasa, who served first the Nanda and then the new sovereign.

Once the fact that Chandragupta was or became a Jain is admitted, the tradition that he abdicated and committed suicide by slow starvation in the approved Jain manner becomes readily credible. The story is to the effect that, when the Jain saint Bhadrabāhu predicted a famine in northern India which would last for twelve years and the prophecy began to be fulfilled, the saint led twelve thousand Jains to the south in search of more favoured

* *Oxford History of India*, 74.
† *Ibid.*, 75-76.

lands. King Chandragupta abdicated and accompanied the emigrants, who made their way to Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in Mysore, where Bhadrabāhu soon died. The ex-emperor Chandragupta, having survived him for twelve years, starved himself to death. The tradition is supported by the names of the buildings at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, inscriptions from the seventh century after Christ, and a literary work of the tenth century. The evidence cannot be described as conclusive, but after much consideration I am disposed to accept the main facts as affirmed by tradition. It being certain that Chandragupta was quite young and inexperienced when he ascended the throne in or about 322 B.C., he must have been under fifty when his reign terminated twenty-four years later. His abdication is an adequate explanation of his disappearance at such an early age. Similar renunciations of royal dignity are on record, and the twelve years' famine is not incredible. In short, the Jain tradition holds the field and no alternative account exists."

THE VELVIKUDI PLATES OF JATILA PARANTAKA
(c. 770 A.C.)

By Mr. K. G. Śankara.

In 1893, Mr. Venkayya intended to publish these plates, of which the originals are in the British Museum (*Ind. Ant.* XXII. 64). Twenty-nine years have now passed, and they are yet unpublished. So I publish them from ink-impressions, kindly sent by Dr. L. D. Barnett.

The 10 plates have 155 lines in Samskrt and Tamizh prose and verse. The Samskrt words are in Grantha, and the Tamizh words in Vaṭṭezhuttu.

The Samskrt part says that a Pāṇḍya Mārravarman performed *hiraṇya-garbha* and *tulābhāra ;* his son was famed as Raṇadhīra ; his son Mārravarman Rājasimha routed Pallavamalla, performed *hiraṇya-garbha* and *tulābhāra*, and married Bhūsundarī, the Mazhava king's daughter ; their son Jaṭila Parāntaka was the ruling king.

The Tamizh part says that the Pāṇḍya emperor (பெருவழுதி) Mudukuḍumi of many sacrifices (பல்யாக) granted Vēḷvikuḍi to Narrkoṭran of Korrkai. After long enjoyment, it was resumed by a Kaḷabhra, who displaced the Pāṇḍyas ; but Kaḍunkôn returned and expelled him. His son was Mārravarman, with the title Avani-Chūḍāmaṇi (earth's crest-gem). His son was Śēndan (= Skt. Jayanta), with the titles Chezhiyan (Pāṇḍya) and Vānavan (Chēra). His descendant Mārravarman, with the titles Arikēsari (lion to foes) and Asamasama (condescending), won at Pāzhi and Śennilam, defeated Vilvēli at Nelvēli, broke the Kurrunāḍas, many times defeated the unrivalled lord of the whole earth, the Kēraḷa king, took Kōzhi (=Urraiyūr, the Chôḷa capital) and performed *hiraṇya-garbha* and *tulābhāra.* His son Jaṭaiyan, with the titles Tenna-vānavan (Pāṇḍya and Chēra), Śembiyan Chōzhan (Chôḷa), Madhura-Karuṅāṭakan (sweet Karṇāṭa) and Kongar-Kōmān (king of Kongas), won at Marudūr, destroyed the Āy-vēḷ (of S. Travancore), and defeated the Mahārathas (W. Chāḷukyas) at the great city Mangalapura (Mangalore). His son Mārran won at Neḍuvayal, Kurrumaḍai, Mannikurrichchi, Tirumangai, Pūvalūr, and Koḍumpāḷūr, defeated the Pallava at Kuzhumbūr, won at Periyalūr, subdued Mazha Kongam on the Kāvērī, married the daughter of Gangarāja of Kongu, performed *gō-sahasra, hiraṇya-garbha* and *tulābhāra,* and renewed the walls named after Kūḍal (Madura), Vanchi (Karūr), and Kōzhi (Urraiyūr). His son Neḍumjaṭaiyan, with the titles Tenna-vānavan, Śrī-vara (lord of prosperity), Śrī-manōhara, Śinachchōzha (angry Chōḷa),

Punappūzhiya, Vītakalmasha (rid of blots), Vinaya-viśruta (famed for humility), Vikrama-pāraga (of unbounded valour), Vīra-purōga (first of heroes), Marut-bala (wind-strong), Mānya-śāsana (of honoured commands), Manūpama (comparable to Manu), Mardita-vīra (of trampled heroes), Giri-sthira (mountain-firm), Gīti-kinnara (a centaur in music), Krpālaya (abode of grace), Krtāpadāna (of achieved works), Kalippahai (foe of Kali), Kaṇṭaka-nishṭhura (ruthless to the evil-minded), Kārya-dakshiṇa (skilled in affairs), Kārmuka-pārtha (an Arjuna in archery), Parāntaka (destroyer of foes), Paṇḍita-vatsala (patron of the learned), Paripūrṇa (contented), Pāpa-bhīru (fearing sin), Guṇa-grāhya (appreciating merit), and Gūḍha-nirṇaya (of secret counsel), defeated the Pallava at Peṇṇāhaḍam, south of the Kāvērī, and the Āyvēḷ and Kurrumbas at Nāṭṭukkurrumbu. In his 3rd year, he renewed the grant to the original donee's descendant; and the executor (आज्ञप्ति) was Mārran-kāri, with the titles Kavi (poet), Madhuratara (sweet), Mangala-rājā (auspicious chief) and Mūvēnda-mangalap-pēr-araiyan (the great chief of Mūvēndamangalam), a Vaidya (by caste) of Karavandapuram (Kaḷakkāḍ in Tinnevelli District), who defeated Ganga-rāja of Kongu, and at Veṇbai the Vallabha (W. Chāḷukya), and secured, for Rājasimha (lion of kings), the former's daughter.

The Mudu-Kuḍumi referred to was a descendant of Vaḍimbalamba-ninrra-Pāṇḍyan, who dug (*Purra-nānūrru*, 9 and comm.) the Pahrruḷi river (Parraḷi in S. Travancore) and an ancestor of Neḍum-Chezhiyan, hero of Talai-ālankānam (மதுரைக்காஞ்சி 759-60). He was thus of the Sangham age.

Varāhamihira omits Kaḷabhras in his list (*c.* 500 A.C.) of S. Indian tribes. But in the 7th and 8th centuries A.C., Sinhavishṇu and Narasimhavarman I (*S. I. I.* ii. 356; i. 152), Vikramāditya I, Vinayāditya and Vikramāditya II (*I. A.* ix. 129; vii. 303; *E. I.* v. 204) claim victories over them. As they are unknown to the Sangham works, the Sangham age must date before, or only after their prominence. But, as none of the kings of this grant is mentioned in Sangham works, the Sangham age must date before *c.* 600 and not after 750 A. C. The Kaḷabhra occupation of Pāṇḍya-dēśa must have been brief, as the same Kaḷabhra, who displaced the Pāṇḍyas, was expelled by Kaḍunkōn.

The 2nd Mārravarman of the Tamizh part and the 1st Mārravarman of the Samskrt part must be identical, as both were the 3rd ancestors of the ruling king Jaṭila (Neḍum-Jaṭaiyan) Parāntaka. Both he and his grandson are said in both parts to have performed *hiraṇya-garbha* and *tulā-bhāra*. The latter performed *gōsahasra* also. In these, the king gives away the golden cow through which he passes, the gold against which he weighs himself, and

a 1,000 cows. This Mārran must be the hero of the *Kōvai* in *Irraiyanār Ahapporuḷ-urai*, who was also a Mārran Arikēsari and won at Pāzhi, Śennilam and Nelvēli, and the Neḍumārran, hero of Nelvēli, the Śaiva saint converted by Sambandha.

This Nelvēli battle must not be confused with the one fought by Nandivarman II's general Udayachandra, as Mārran's foe was Vilvēli, and Udayachandra's the Śabara Udayana; nor Mārran's Śankamangai battle with Udayachandra's Śankara-grāma battle (*S. I. I.* ii. No. 74).

As this Mārran is only said to have been the descendant, not the son of his predecessor, and as the Kēraḷa, whom he many times defeated, is referred to as the unrivalled lord of the whole earth, it seems that the Kēraḷa occupied Pāṇḍya-dēśa after Śēndan's reign, and Mārran had to fight him often before he regained his throne. This Kēraḷa was perhaps Kulaśēkhara āzhvār, who calls himself lord of the 3 S. Indian capitals.

Raṇadhīra (firm in battle) must be a title of the next king Jaṭaiyan.

His son must be the Rājasimha of the Samskrt part. Since he routed Pallavamalla (the distinctive title of Nandi II), the Mannikurrichchi, at which he fought, may be the Maṇṇaikkuḍi, at which Udayachandra fought the Pāṇḍyas; and the Mazhava Bhūsundarī must be Gangarāja's daughter. The Mazhavas were defeated by Simhavishṇu and Vinayāditya (*S. I. I.* ii. 356; *I. A.* vii. 303). The Vallabha, defeated at Veṇbai by Mārran-Kāri, must be Vikramāditya II, who fought the Pāṇḍyas (*E. I.* ix. 205).

The executor must be the same Mārran-Kāri, with titles Kavi, Madhuratara, and Mūvēnda-mangalap-pēraraiyan, the Vaidya of Karavandapura and Uttara-mantri (premier) of the same Pāṇḍya Mārran-Jaṭaiyan Parāntaka, who built the Ānaimalai temple and consecrated the image on 4th November 770 A. C. (Kali 3871 expired, Kārttika, Sunday, Rēvaṭī). But he died shortly after. So his brother Mārran Eyinan, who succeeded him as Uttaramantri, with the title Pāṇḍimangala-Viśaiaraiyan, built the outer hall and consecrated it (நீர்த்தளித்து); for தளித்து in this sense *cf.* ஐங்குறுநூறு 328 (*E. I.* viii. 317-21).

As Mārran-Kāri died in 770 A. C., the Vēḷvikuḍi plates, of which he was the executor, and Jaṭila's 3rd year, must date before 770 A. C. His accession thus dates before 767 A. C. The tabular statement below summarizes the above discussion, and the text of the plates follows, with the Grantha and Vaṭṭezhuttu letters in Nāgarī and Tamizh respectively. The 1st 8 plates are numbered in the margin by the Grantha symbols for 1 to 8.

No.	Name of the King	Approx. date of Acc.	Relationship to his predecessor	Titles	Historical Details.
1.	Mudu-Kuḍumi	c. 450 A.C.	...	பல்யாகசாலை முதுகுடுமிப்பெருவழுதி.	Original donor of Vēlvikuḍi and ancestor of Neḍum-Chezhiyan II, hero of Talai-ālankānam.
2.	Kalabhra	c. 600	Usurper	...	Resumed the grant, after displacing Pāṇḍyas.
3.	Kaḍunkōn	c. 615	Descendant of (1)	...	Expelled (2) Kalabhra.
4.	Mārravarman	c. 640	Son	Avani-chūḍāmaṇi.	......
5.	Śēndan (Jayanta)	c. 665	Son	செழியன், வானவன்.	......
6.	Mārravarman	c. 690	Descendant	Arikēsari, Asamasama, Neḍumārra-nāyanār.	Performed हिरण्यगर्भ & तुलाभार; won at Pāzhi and Śennilam, defeated Vilvēli at Nelvēli, broke Kurrunāḍas, defeated Kērala (Kulaśēkhara āzhvār ?), took Kōzhi, and fought at Śankamangai; hero of களவியலுரை; converted by Sambaṇdha; Kulaśēkhara perhaps occupied Pāṇḍya-dēśa after Śēndan's reign.
7.	Jaṭaiyan	c. 715	Son	Raṇadhīra, தென்னவானவன் செம்பியன் சோழன், மதுரகருநாடகன், கொங்கர்கோமான்.	Won at Marudūr, destroyed Āy-vēl, and defeated the W. Chālukyas at Mangalore.

No.	Name of the King	Approx. date of Acc.	Relationship to his predecessor	Titles	Historical Details
8.	Mārravarman	c. 740	Son	Rājasimha.	Routed Pallavamalla Nandi II; performed हिरण्यगर्भ, तुलाभार and गोसहस्र; married Bhūsundarī, daughter of Mazhava Gangarāja of Kongu; won at Neduvayal, Kurrumaḍai, Mannikurrichchi (Maṇṇaikuḍi of Udayachandra?), Tirumangai, Pūvalūr, and Koḍumpālūr, defeated Pallava at Kuzhumbūr, won at Periyalūr, subdued Mazhakongam, renewed walls named Kūḍal, Vanchi, and Kōzhi; Mārran-kāri defeated Vikramāditya II at Veṇbai.
9.	Jaṭila	c. 765	Son	நெடுஞ்சடையன், மாறஞ்சடையன், தென்னவானவன், श्रीवर, श्रीमनोहर, சினச்சோழன், புனப்பூழியன், वीतकल्मष, विनयविश्रुत, विक्रमपारग, वीरपुरोग, मरुत्बल, मान्यशासन, मनूपम, मर्दितवीर, गिरिस्थिर, गीतिकिन्नर, कृपालय, कृतापदान, கலிப்பகை: कण्टकनिष्ठुर, कार्यदक्षिण, कार्मुकपार्थ, परान्तक, पण्डितवत्सल, परिपूर्ण, पापभीरु, गुणग्राह्य, गूढनिर्णय.	Defeated Pallava at Peṇṇāhaḍam, and Āy-vēl and Kurrumbas at Nāṭṭukkurrumbu, in his 3rd year c. 770 A.C., renewed this grant to original donee's descendant.

Pl—i ; p—(b)

Line1. स्वस्ति, श्रियञ्चिरंवशिशशिरांशुशेखरशिवश्रितार्त्तिप्रतिबन्धकारणम् तनोतु सौवर्ण्णकप-
2. र्द्दसुन्दरम्कुदर्प्पकन्दर्प्पमदप्रमर्द्दनः ॥ विश्वम्भराभरश्रान्तशेषविश्रमकारणम् आ-
3. कल्पान्तम्भुविस्थेयादन्वयः पाण्ड्यभूभृताम् ॥ अस्तम्भयत्क्षितिधरम्प्रविजृम्भमाणमम्भ-
4. स्समस्तमपिबज्जलधेश्च यस्सः कुम्भोद्भवो भवति यस्य मुनिः पुरोधास्सश्रीनिधि-
5. र्ज्जयति पाड्यनरेन्द्रवंशः ॥ अस्थादप्रतिमप्रभावमहितः पाड्याभिधानोनिधे-
6. र्व्वीराभ्धारिमहीपतिस्त्रिभुवने लीनेपि कल्पक्षयात् धाता सृष्टवता पुनस्स-
7. जगतां रक्षार्त्थमभ्यार्थितस्तेजस्वी तनयत्वमेत्य शशिनो नाम्नाबुधाख्योभवत् ॥

Pl—ii ; p—(a)

1. पुत्रस्तस्य पुरूरवा भुजबलप्रध्वस्तदैत्यः प्रभुस्तद्वंशे शिखरीन्द्रमस्तकशि-
2. लाविन्यस्तमत्स्यद्वयेशक्रार्द्धासनहारभाजि शरणे विश्वस्य विश्वम्भरागेह-
3. स्वामिनि शाश्वते युधिजिताशेषामरारिप्रभौ ॥ दूतीभूतदिवोकसि क्षितिधरक्षु-
4. ब्धाभिसंक्षोभितक्षीरोदन्वति कुम्भसम्भवकरप्राप्ताभिषेकक्रिये इष्टार्त्थार्प्पण-
5. तार्प्पितार्त्थिजनतापूर्ण्णक्षमामण्डले जन्मावाप जगत्रयार्च्चितगुण श्रीमारवर्म्मानृ-
6. पः ॥ धरणीवलयं समस्तमेतन्निजदोर्द्दण्डमहोरगेणविभृतं अहरत्सभु-
7. जंगमाधिभर्तुश्चिरकालोद्वहनक्रमन्धरायाः ॥ अधिरुह्यतुलाममिलवर्ग्गं युधिजि-

Pl—ii ; p—(b)

1. त्वामृतगर्ब्भतो जनित्वा सुधीयामधिपस्सुवर्ण्णराशिं विधिवत्सप्रतिपादयाम्बभूव ॥ तस्या-
2. न्मजस्तरुणभास्करतुल्यतेजा राजा बभूव रणधीर इति प्रतीतः योलीलयैवभुवन-
3. स्यबभारभारं हारं यथास्यगुरवस्सुरनायकस्य ॥ पुत्रस्तस्य पुरन्दरप्रतिकृतिर्भू-
4. सुन्दरीवल्लभो नम्राशेषनरेन्द्रवेष्टनमणिव्रातावृतांघ्रिद्वयः आसीत्सत्यसखप-
5. राक्रमधनः पत्मासनायाः पतिर्व्विद्याचारविभूषणश्रुतधरश्रीमारवर्म्माभिधः ॥ सराज-
6. सिंहस्सरसीरुहाक्षो भयम्भुविप्राणभृतामपास्य ररक्षदक्षः क्षपितारिपक्ष-
7. म् क्षमातलं क्ष्मापतिरक्षताज्ञः ॥ नरोनुरक्षोनु हरोनुपूरुषः परोनुशक्रोनु

Pl—iii ; p—(a)

1. सरोषमागतः इतिस्ममत्वा युधियम्भयार्द्दितः पलायते पल्लवमल्लभूप-
2. तिः ॥ कनकगर्ब्भकृतप्रसवः पुनस्समाधिरुह्य तुलामतुलामपि अकिरद-
3. र्त्थमपाकृतकल्मषोद्विजदरिद्रसुरायतनेषु यः ॥ माहाकुलीनाम्मळवेन्द्रक-
4. न्यां स मारवर्म्मा सदृशीमुवाह अजायतास्यां हरसूनुकल्पो जगद्धितार्त्थं जटि-
5. लाभिधानः ॥ अशिषत्सधरामहीनसाराम्क्षितिपम्क्षाळितकल्मषानुषंगम् नतरा-
6. जकमोलिरत्नरश्मिप्रकराभ्यर्च्चितपादपत्मपीठः ॥ कलयेसगुणानदात्कृतस्य
7. स्वभुजाभ्यां सुरपादपस्वभावम् अभयं शरणागतप्रजाभ्यस्सदिवं संयतिश-

Pl—iii ; p—(b)

Line 1. लुपार्त्थिवस्यः ॥ राजतां स महीपालकिरीटार्प्पितशासनः राजसिंहसुतोरा-
2. जाचिरमुर्व्याम्परान्तकः ॥ இ प्रशस्तिसर्व्वक्रतुयाजि ஆகிய वरोदयभट्ट ஞற் செ
3. ய்யப்பட்டது॥ கொல்யானை பலவோட்டிக் கூடாமன்னர் குழாந்தவி-
4. ர்த்த, பல்யாக முதுகுடுமிப் பெருவழுதி என்னும் पाण्ड्याधिराज ஞ,-
5. ஞகமாமலர்ச்சோலை நளிர்சினை மிசைவண்டலம்பும், பாகனூர்-
6. க்கூற்றமென்னும் பழனக்கிடக்கை நீர் நாட்டுச், சொற்கண்ணாளர் சொ-
7. லப்பட்ட श्रौतमार्ग्गम् பிழையாத, கொற்கைகிழானற்கொற்றன் கொண்-
8. டவேள்வி முற்றுவிக்க, கேள்வி அந்தணாளர் முன்புகேட்க என்றெடுத்-

Pl—iv ; p—(a)

1. துரைத்து, வேள்விசாலை முன்பு நின்று வேள்விகுடி என்றப்பதியைச், சி-
2. ரொடுதிருவளரச்செய்தார் வேந்தனப்பொழுதேய், நீரோட்டிக்கொடுத்தமை-
3. யானிடு भुक्ति துத்தபின், னளவரிய आधिराजरै அகலநீக்கி அகலிடத்தை-
4. க் कलभ्र னென்னுங் கலி அரைசன் கைக்கொண்டதனை இறக்கிய பின், படு கடன் முளை-
5. த்தபருதிபோல் पाण्ड्याधिराज ன் வெளிற்பட்டு, விடுகதிரவிரொளி விலகவிற்றி-
6. ருந்து, வேலைசூழ்ந்த வியலிடத்துக், கோவுங்குறும்பும் பாவுடன் முருக்கிச், செ-
7. ங்கோலோச்சி வெண்குடைநீழற், றங்கொளி நிறைந்த தாணிமங்கையைப், பிறர்-
8. பாலுரிமை திறவிதினீக்கித், தன்பாலுரிமை நன்கனமமைத்த, மானம் பே-
9. ர்த்ததானை வேந்தன், ஓடுங்காமன்னரொளி நகரழித்த, கடுங்கோனென்னுங்கதி-
10. ர்வேற்றென்னன், மற்றவற்குமகனாகி महीतलम् பொதுநீக்கி, மலர்மங்கை ஒ-

Pl—iv ; p—(b)

1. டுமணனயர்ந்த, அற்றமில் பாவைத்தானை, आधिराजन् அவனிசூளாமணி, எத்தி-
2. றத்து மிகலழிக்கு, மத்தயானை मारवर्म्मन्, மற்றவற்கு மருவினிய ஒரு மகனா-
3. கி, மண்மகளை மருக்கடிந்து, विक्रम த்தின் வெளிற்பட்டு விலங்கல்வேல் பொ-
4. றிவேந்தர் வேந்தன், சிலைத்தடக்கைக் கொலைக்களிற்றுச், செழியன் வானவன்
5. செங்கோற்சேந்தன், மற்றவற்கு பழிப்பின்றி வழித்தோன்றி, उदयगिरिमध्य ம-
6. த்துறுசுடர்போலத், தெற்றென்று दिशै நடுங்க, மற்றவன் வெளிற்பட்டுச், சூ-
7. ழியானை செலவுந்திப், பாழிவாயமர்கடந்து, வில்வேலிகடற்றானையை
8. நெல்வேலிச்செருவென்றும், விரவிவந்தடையாத பரவரைப்பாழ்படுத்-
9 து, மறுகாலினம் புடைதிளைக்குங் குறுநாட்டவர் குலங்கெடுத்து-
10. ங், கைந்நலத்த களிறுந்திச் செந்நிலத்துச் செருவென்றும், பாரளவுந்-

Pl—v ; p—(a)

Line 1. தனிச்செங்கோற் केरल னைப்பலமு [றையுமு] ரி [மை] ச்சுற்றுமா............யானை-
2. உம், புரிசைம்மதிற் புலிஊரப், பகனுழிகை இறவாமை இக்கோ-
3. ழி உள்வென்றுகொண்டும், வேலாழி உம் வியன்பரம்பும் மேலாமை சென்-
4. றெறிந்தழித்தும், हिरण्यगर्भ முந்துலா भार முந், தரணிமிசைப்பல செய்து,
5. अन्तण र்க்கும் अशक्त र்க்கும் வந்தணைக என்றித்தளித்த, मकरिகै அணிமணி-
6. நெடுமுடி अरिकेसरि असमसमन् श्रीमारवर्म्मन्, மற்றவற்கு மகனுகிக் கொற்றவே-
7. ல்வலனேந்திப், பொருதூருங் கடற்றானையை மருதூருண் மாண்பழித், தாய்வே-
8. ளை அகப்பட ஏயென்னுமை எறிந்தழித்துச், செங்கொடிஉம் புதான் கோட்-
9. டுஞ் செருவென்றவர் சினந்தவிர்த்துக், கொங்கலருந் நறும்பொழில் வாய்க்கு-
10. இலோடுமெஇலகவு, மங்கலபுரமென்னும் महानगरு ண் महारथै, எ-

Pl—v ; p—(b)

1. றிந்தழித்தறைகடல் வளாகம் பொதுமொழி அகற்றிச், சிலை உம் புலி உங்-
2. கயலுஞ்சென்று, நிலையமை நெடுவரை இடவ இற்கிடாய், மண்ணினிதாண்ட
3. தண்ணளிச் செங்கோற், றென்னவானவன் செம்பியன் சோழன், மன்னர் மன்னன்மது-
4. ர கருநாடகன், கொன்னவின்ற நெடுஞ்சுடர்வேற் கொங்கர் கோமான் கோச் சடையன்,
5. மற்றவற்கு पुत्र னுய் மண்மகளது பொருட்டாக, மத்தயானை செலவுந்திமான-
6. வேல்வலனேந்திக், கடுவிசையாலெதிர்ந்தவரை நெடுவயல் வாய் நிகரழி-
7. த்துக், கறுவடைந்த மனத்தவரைக்குறுமடைவாய்க் கூர்ப்பழித்து, ம-
8. ன்னிகுறிச்சி உந்திருமங்கை உமுன்னின்றவர் முரணழித்து, மேவலோ-
9. ர் கடற்றானை ஓடேற்றெதிரேய் வந்தவரைப், பூவலூர்ப்புறங்கண்டுங்,
10. கொடும்புரிசைந்நெடுங்கிடங்கிற் கொடும்பாளூர்க்கூடார் கடும்பரி-

Pl—vi ; p—(a)

1.. உங், கருங்களிறுங் கதிர்வேலிற் கைக்கொண்டுஞ், செ (ழும்புரவிப்) பல்லவனை [க்]
2. குழும்பூருட்டேசழிய, எண்ணிறந்த மால்களிறுமிவுளிகளும் பலகவர்ந்-
3. தும், தரியலராய்த்தறித்தவரைப் பெரியலூர்ப்பிடழித்தும், பூவிரி உ-
4. ம் பொழிற் சோலைக்காவிரியைக் கடந்திட், டழகமைந்தவார்சிலை இன்மழகொ-
5. ங்கமடிப்படுத்து, மிண்டொளிய மணி இமைக்கு மெழிலமைந்த நெடும்பு-
6. ரிசைப், பாண்டிக்கொடுமிடிசென்றெய்திப் पशुपति யது पत्मपादम् பணிந்தே-
7. த்திக், कनकराशि உங்கதிர்மணி உம் மனமகுழக்குடுத்திட்டுங், கொங்க-
8. ரவந்நறுங்கண்ணிக் गंगराज னுடு सम्बन्ध ஞ் செய்தும், எண்ணிறந்தன गो-
9. सहस्र மும் हिरण्यगर्भ முந்துலா भार மும், மண்ணின் மிசைப்பல செய்து ம-
10. றை நாவினர் குறை திர்த்துங், கூடல்வஞ்சிகோழி என்னுமாடமாமதி-

Pl—vi ; p—(b)

Line 1. ல்புதுக்கி உ;. மறைகடல் வளாகங்குறையாதாண்ட, மன்னர் மன்ன தென்னவர் மருக-

2. ன், மானவெண்குடைமான்றேர்மாறன், மற்றவற்கு மகனாகி மாலுருவின்வெளிப்ப-

3. ட்டுக், கொற்றமுன்றுடனியம்பக்குளிர் வெண்குடை மண்காப்ப, பூமகளும்பு-

4. லமகளுந்நாமகளுந்நலனேத்தக், கலி அரைசன் வலிதளரப்பொலுவினொடுவி-

5. ற்றிருந்து, கருங்கடலுடுத்த பெருங்கண்ஞாலத்து, நாற்பெறும்படை உம்பா-

6. ற்படப்பரப்பிக், குருதாது வந்தெதிர் மலைந்த காடவனைக் காடடையப், பூவி-

7. ரி உம் புனற்கழனிக் காவிரி இன்றென்கரைமேற், றண்ணாகம்மலர்ச்சோலை-

8. ப் பெண்ணாகடத்தமர்வென்றுந், திவாய் அஇலேந்தித்திளைத்தெதிரேய் வந்-

9. திறுத்த, ஆய்வேளை உங்குறும்பரை உமடல் மருளழித்தோட்டிக், காட்டு-

10. [க்] குறும்பு சென்றடைய நாட்டுக்குறும்பிற் செருவென்று, மறைகடல்வளா-

Pl—vii ; p—(a)

1. க [மொ] ரு [மொ] ழிக்கொளிஇய, சிலைமலித்தடக்கைத் தென்னவானவன் அவனே-

2. ய், श्रीवरन्श्रिमनोहरन् சினச்சோழகன் புனப்பூழியன், वीतकन्मषन्-

3. विनयविश्रुतन् विक्रमपारकन् वीरपुरोकन्, मरुद्बलन् मान्यशासनन् मनूपमन्

4. मार्द्दितवीरन्, गिरिस्थिरन् गीतिकिन्नरन् कृपालयन् कृतापतानन्, கலிப்பகை कण्ट-

5. कनिष्ठुरन् कर्य्यदक्षिणन् कार्मुखपार्त्थन्, परान्तकन् पण्डितवत्सलन् परिपूर्णन् पा-

6. पभीरु, குரை உறுகடற் படைத்தானை गुणग्रहन् गूढनृर्णयन्, நிரைஉறுமல-

7. ர்மணி நீண்முடி நெரிய, கோன்னெடுஞ்சடைய மற்றவன்றன், राज्यवत्सलम् மூன்று-

Pl—vii ; p—(b)

1. வது செலாநிற்ப, ஆங்கொருநாண், மாடமாமதிற்கூடற் பாடுநீத்தவர் आ-

2. क्रोधि க்கக், கொற்றவனேய்மற்றவரைத் தெற்றென நன்கு கூவி, என்னேய்நுங் குறை

3. என்று முன்னாகப்பணித்தருள, மேனாணின்குரவராற் பான்முறை இன்வ-

4. ழுவாமை, மாகந்தோய் மலர்ச்சோலைப் பாகனூர்க் கூற்றத்துப் படுவது,

5. ஆள்வதானை அடல்வேந்தேய் வேள்விகுடி என்னும்பியருடையது, ஒ-

6. ல்காத வேற்றானை ஒடோதவேலி உடன்காத்த, பல்யாக முதுகுடுமி-

7. ப்பெருவழுதி என்னும் परमेश्वरனாற், வேள்விகுடி என்னப்பட்டது

8. கேள்வியிற்றரப்பட்டதனைத், துளக்கமில்லாக்கடற்றானையாய் कलभ्र-

9. राலிறக்கப்பட்டது, என்று நின்றவன் विज्ञाप्य ஞ் செய்ய நன்று நன்றென்று.

10. முறுவலித்து, நாட்டானின் பழமையாதல் காட்டி நீ [கே ளெ] ன்ன, நாட்டி ற்றன்

Pl—viii ; p—(a)

Line 1. பழ [மையாதலைகாட்டி] ஞறங்க [ப் பொ] ழுதே [ய்காட்] ட, மேஞளை [நங்] குர-
2. வராற்பான்முறை இற்றரப்பட்டதை, எம்மாலுந்தரப்பட்டதென்று செ-
3. ம்மாந்தவனெடுத்தருளி, விற்கைத்தடக்கை விறல்வேந்தன் கொற்கைகிழா-
4. ன்காமக்காணி நற்சிங்கற்குத், தேரோடுங்கடற்றானையான் னீரோடட்டிக்கொ-
5. டுத்தமை இன், மற்றிதற்குப் பெருநான்கெல்லைதெற்றென விரித்துரைப்-
6. பிற், புகாறுபொழின் மருங்குடுத்த நகரூரெல்லைக்கும்மேக்கும், மற்றிதற்கு-
7. த்தென் எல்லை, குளந்தைவங் கூழ்வந்தைசைக்குங், களந்தைக்குளத்திலாலுக்கு
8. வடக்கும், மற்றிதற்கு மேலெல்லை, அற்றநில்லாக் கொற்றன்புத்தூர, ரொடுண்மய் இ-
9. ருப்பைச்செய் இடைமேற்றலைப்பெருப்பிற்குக் கிழக்கும், மற்றிதற்குவடபா-

Pl—viii ; p—(b)

1. லெல் [லை] காயலுட்கமலம் மலரும் பாயலுள் வடபாலைப் பெருப்பிற்குத்-
2. தெற்கும், இவ்வியைதபெருநான் கெல்லையிற்பட்ட பூமிகாராண்மைமியாட்சி
3. உள்ளடங்க மேலெங்குரவாற் குடுக்கப்பட்ட பரிசேய் எம்மாலுங்கொடுக்-
4. கப்பட்டது, மற்றிதற்காணத்திகுற்றமின்றிக் கூறுங்காலைக், கொங்கரவந்-
5. றுங்கண்ணிக் गंगराजनद्य कन्यारत्नं, கொங்கர் கோற்குக்குணந்து கொடுப்ப, ஆர்ப்-
6. பரூஅடற்றானைப் पूर्व्वराजर् புகன்றெழுந்து, வில்விரவுங் கடற்றானை वल्लहலை
7. வெண்பைவாய், ஆளமருள்ளழிந்தோட வாளமருளுடன் வவ்விய, எனப்பொறி-
8. இகலமருளிடி உருமெனவலனேந்தி மானத்தானை, सदवीकलन् மன்னர்கோ-
9. னருளிற் பெற்றுங், கோல்வளைக்கும் வேற்றானைப்பல்வளைக்கோன்குணர-

Pl—ix ; p—(a)

1. ப்பட்டும், பொரவந்தவர் மதந்தவிர்க்குங் கரவந்தபுரத்தவர் கு [ல] த் தோன்றல், மாவேந்-
2. துங்கடற்றானை மூவேந்த மங்கலப்பேரரையனாகிய, वैद्यकशिखामणि மாறங்கா-
3. ரி. இப்பிரமதேயமுடைய கொற்கை கிழான் காமக்காணி சுவரஞ்சிங்கன், இ-
4. தனுள் மூன்றிலொன்றுந்தனக்குவைத்திரண்டு கூறும் ஒம்பதின்மர் ब्राह्म-
5. णர்க்கு நீரோடட்டிக்கொடுத்தான். இதனுள் மூர்த்தி எயினன் சவை ஒடொ-
6. த்தது நான்கரைப்படாகாரமுடையன். இதனுட்டனக்குவைத்த ஒரு கூற்றிலு-
7. ந்தம்பிமார்க்கு நான்குந்தஞ்சிற்றப்பனார் மக்களுக்கு ஆறும் स-
8. भै ஒடொத்த படாகாரங் கொடுத்தான். இப் प्रशस्ति பாடினசேனாப-
9. தி எனாதி ஆஇன சாத்தஞ் சாத்தற்கு மூன்று கூற்றாருமாய்த்
10. தங்களோடொத்த நான்கு படாகாரங் கொடுத்தார்॥

Pl—ix ; p—(b)

Line 1. आसीत्मंगलराजो मधुरतर: शास्त्रवीत्कविर्व्वाग्मी आज्ञप्तिरस्य वैद्य: करवन्दपुरा-
2. धिवास्तव्य: ॥ रत्षान्नर: परकृतो विदधीतविद्वान्पादाहि धर्म्मयशस: पर-
3. मस्य लब्धा धात्रैव स्त्रष्टुमाखिलम् भुवनन्तथापि रत्षान्विपुण्यरतय: प्रथिविन्नरेन्द्रा ॥
4. न ही भूमिप्रदानाद्वै दानमन्यद्विशिष्यते नचापी भूमिहरणात्पाप-
5. मन्यद्विधीयते ॥ दाता दशानुगृह्णाति यो हरेर्द्दशहान्तिच अतितानागता-
6. नीह कुलानि कुलनन्दन ॥ स्वदत्ताम् परदत्ताम् वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा-
7. म् न तस्य नरकात्घोराद्विद्यते निष्कृति कचित् ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा

Pl—x ; p—(a)

1. दत्ता भुज्यतेहि तराधिपै: यस्य यस्य यदा भूमस्तस्यतस्यत-
2. दाफलम् ॥। चत्वार: इमे वैष्णवे धर्म्मैश्लोका: ॥।
3. மற்றிணைக்காத்தார் மலரடி என்முடிமேல் என்று கொற்றவனேய்பணி-
4. த்தருளித்தெற்றெனத் ताम्रशासनஞ் செய்வித்தான்।।। இய்தெழுதி-
5. னசுத்தகேசரிப்பெரும்பணைகாரனுக்கு பெருமக்கள் அருளாற்பெற்ற-
6. து ஒருஇல்லவளாவும் இரண்டுமாச்செய் உம் ஒருபுன்செய்உ-
7. ம்பெற்றான், இவை युद्धकेसरीப் பெரும்பணைகாரனெழுத்து.

COIN COLLECTING IN SOUTH INDIA.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

By Rev. J. A. Vanes, B.A., F.R.N.S.

My aim in this paper is strictly practical, to give help to those who would begin the interesting work of collecting coins that have ceased to be current. There are in India millions of such coins of all ages which are liable to be thrown into the melting pot, and yet some of them can give light on the early history of the country that historians, archæologists and epigraphists have been vainly seeking for years. Already we know of many early rulers to whose existence their coins are the only witness, while other coins, rescued from the remains of ruined cities, have given the clue to the interpretation of some inscription on stone or copper. In the pages of the Indian Antiquary you may find abundant illustration of this fact. However, it is not in the spade of the excavator that I would interest you now, but rather in what may be found in the local bazaar where, as we were reminded in an interesting paper on Greater India in a recent issue of our journal, Dr. Hultzsch found a silver coin of Ptolemy Soter. When once a coin has been the authorized medium of exchange, it becomes in a sense historical and for thousands of years may remain to bear its silent witness to the past while sentiment and interest alike gather round it. Cap. Tufnell wrote an excellent introduction to this subject in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science 1886-7, and afterwards published it in book form with illustrations and additions under the title of "Hints to Coin Collectors in S. India", but unfortunately it is out of print and difficult to be obtained. He describes a lot of coins that may be found in the bags of the South Indian shroffs by those who hunt for them in the right way. A similar book entitled "Coin Clolecting in North India" was written by Chas. J. Rodgers, of Amritsar, Hony. Numismatist to the Government of India. This was at first a series of articles in the *Pioneer*, and then published in book form with plates in 1894. It has many personal experiences in coin collecting and many interesting facts connected with the historical coins which abound in the bazaars of North India. Possibly a copy of the book could be obtained from such a coin dealer as Hormusji C. Gorimar of Karelwadi, Bombay 2. Then Major R. P. Jackson of the Indian Army (retired) wrote in the British Numismatic Journal 1909 two full articles entitled "Coin Collecting in Mysore" and "Coin Collecting in the Deccan". These are most helpful as also a later

and longer article of more than a hundred quarto pages in the same Journal for 1913 under the title "The Dominions, Emblems and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties". These three articles were published separately by Harrison and Sons, St. Martin's Lane, and were illustrated with beautiful auto-type plates. Books and illustrations are essential to a coin collector and if he cannot possess them he must try to consult them in some library. Such books by authors of known qualifications are generally expensive and having a comparatively small number of readers, pass out of print soon and become costly. I shall endeavour in the course of this paper to deal with the bibliography of the subject and hope that in time the library of our Society will have a department of numismatics. When one begins to search for coins he may soon imagine that there are very few, but persistent and wise effort will surely be rewarded. Cap. Tufnell gives instances showing the desirability of carrying old coins with you to let the people see the kind of thing you want, displaying current coins also to give them confidence that they will be immediate gainers by exchange. He tells us how the villagers in one place assured him that there were no coins to be had, yet before two days had passed he had obtained 28 lbs. weight of them. Pilgrims from distant places bring with them strange coins that often find a resting place in the bag of the village money changer. In remote places the fact that any one should seek such coins will seem surprising and suspicion may be awakened, but there are many ways of allaying such feelings. I recently found in the mofussil that during the War when copper became scarce men came round buying up all the old coins they could find in order to melt them down, and that suggested, what experience has since confirmed, the desirability of buying the old coins by weight and not attempting to choose any particular ones. At some later time accumulations of those not wanted may be easily disposed of as old metal. Up to the time of the East India Company, say 1600, the great majority of old coins, with the exception of those of the sultans of Delhi and of the Mogal emperors, were of copper and there ought to be many still available. Speaking generally, we may say that the copper coins of the South are small; they abound in the Madura District, and those of the Deccan are thick and clumsy. Large numbers of silver and gold coins have been dug up at various times and have been dealt with by Government as treasure-trove. A very full account of the hoards of Roman coins which have been unearthed, for the most part, in the South-West of India, is given in detail by Mr. Thurston in his Catalogue of Roman coins in the Madras museum. A large number of the coins in the Lucknow museum have been obtained from treasure-trove. In recent years there was dug up at Kodur in the Nellore District a hoard of 16,500 gold coins

which at any rate were prior to the Vijayanagar kingdom. These were distributed to various museums and some 500 were on sale to the public at the Madras museum, but the supply was not equal to the demand. The whole find was described and illustrated in the Government of Madras Home Department G.O. No. 1106 of 11th October 1917.

The more one knows of the languages and of the history of the country the greater will be his interest in the coins; and the more one knows of the habits of the people and of the customs of those who barter, the more successful is he likely to be as a collector. Yet when the script of the coin can be read it is not always easy to say to what the coin belongs, for it is seldom that any single coin bears the whole of an inscription; and sometimes three or four different specimens have to be obtained before the whole can be known. This of course results partly from the die not being truly centered when the coin is struck and partly from the die being broader than the coin. This constitutes a marked difference between the ancient and the modern coin. The latter is said to be milled, *i.e.*, machine-made and it is well to consider briefly what is involved in this. Lieut. Moor in his 'Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment' published in London in 1794, gives an oftquoted description of the mode of coining at the Bombay Mint. He says, 'The metal is brought to the Mint in bars, the size of the little finger, where a number of persons are seated on the ground provided with scales and weights, a hammer and an instrument between a chisel and a punch; before each man's berth is fixed a stone by way of anvil. The bars are cut into pieces by guess, and if, on weighing, any deficiency is found, a little particle is punched into the intended rupee; if too heavy, a piece is cut off, and so until the exact quantity remains. These pieces are then taken to a second person, whose whole apparatus consists of a hammer and a stone anvil, and he batters them into something of a round shape, about seven-eighths of an inch diameter, and one-eighth thick; when they are ready for the impression. The die is composed of two pieces, one inserted firmly into the ground, the other, about 8 inches long, is held in the right hand of the operator, who, squatting on his heels (the posture, indeed, in which everything is done in India, for if a man has a dram given him, he finds it convenient to squat upon his heels to drink it) fills his left hand with the intended coins, which he with inconceivable quickness slips upon the fixed die with his thumb and middle finger, with his forefinger as dexterously removing them, when his assistant, a second man with a mall, has given it the impression, which he does as rapidly as he can raise and strike with the mall on the die held in the right hand of the coiner. The diameter of the die is about an inch and a half, inscribed with the great Moghul's name, titles,

date of the Hejra, his reign, etc., but as the coins are not so large, they do not consequently receive all nor the same impression. The rupee is then sent to the treasury, ready for currency, as no milling, or any other further process is thought necessary.'

Now it is the "milling" which gives the air of respectability to our modern coins. That is they are passed through the machine or mill as it was called in old times, probably because the watermill or the windmill provided the motor power. In England the milled coin was introduced in a few cases during the reign of Elizabeth, but it became compulsory by the Warrant of Charles II in 1663. You will notice also that the milled coin has a raised edge all round and this protects the impression from being rubbed and quickly worn away, but the ancient coins in most cases had a more highly raised portrait; in the modern coin the relief is lower.

In popular language the word "milled" as applied to coins is now restricted to the regular parallel lines on the edge of the coin. Every one is familiar with their appearance and when a coin is hand-made the forger has always difficulty in producing these lines, and the forged rupee can generally be detected in a roll of rupees by its irregular milling. The advantage of milling is illustrated further by Dr. Bidie in his very informing paper on the Pagoda or Varaha coins of South India in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I of 1883. The early gold coin of Madras was called a pagoda, a word which like fanam has had a very elastic meaning in Anglo-Indian literature as may be seen by any one who will consult the words in Yule and Burnell's Hobson-Jobson. Pagodas were sometimes of silver but mostly of gold and in some of the later issues had a gopuram of a temple stamped on one side with stars around and an inscription in English, $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ 1 or 2 Pagodas, as the case might be. Bidie says "Counterfeit specimens of this pagoda are very often seen in jewellery, but may usually be easily detected, as in the genuine huns *i.e.*, pagodas, the milling on the edge is oblique, like the section of a rope, whereas in the forged ones the milling is like that on modern English coins". The so-called Porto Novo pagodas are quite different, being dumpy, about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, flat one side with an image of Vishnu, and the other convex with a granulated surface. They seem to have been first coined by the Portuguese. Similar coins with the Persian letters *illah* on the granulated surface belong to Sa'ādat-ulla-Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic, 1708-33, and the Persian letter *'ain* is substituted on those of Safdar-Ali-Khan (1740-42).

Let us suppose one has begun to enquire in the bazaar after old coins; he will be pretty sure to find some of the old Mysore coins which ceased to be coined in 1843. Many of them have on the obverse an elephant or a grotesquely depicted lion and above it the Kanarese letters *sri* with a crescent

moon. On the reverse in many cases will be *Kṛishna* in Kanarese letters and underneath that *Mahishur* (for Maisur) in Persian letters and *Kāsu ippatu* in Kanarese with XX Cash in clumsy English capitals. Sometimes it will be 25 cash or 10 or 5 according to its size. For all such coins you will find the fullest information in Tufnell's Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Bangalore museum or in the Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Madras museum, compiled by Mr. Thurston. These two books are well provided with plates.

You will be likely to meet with some small copper coins on one side of which is a chequered pattern of crossed lines accompanied in some case with various marks. On the other side there may be a numeral in Kanarese. There appear to be two or three sizes of these numbered coins and there is great uncertainty as to their origin. Numbers are readily found up to 31 but the figures above that are so seldom seen that Tufnell thought there are none. When I was at the British Museum last I went through theirs and I made a note at the time that they had No. 33, but not 32. Major Jackson says that he saw 32 and 33 in the collection of Dr. Hultzsch, so here is a coin that the young collector in Mysore may well search for. Sir Walter Elliot who also had No. 32 thinks that the series was issued by Chama Raja V (1775-1796) and if this recent date is reliable we ought to be able to find out something about the issue of the coins and the meaning of the numerals.

The later coins of the East India Company are still common and most of the copper ones have the arms of the Company on one side. On the earlier ones there was generally what is called the bale mark of the Company. It is the outline of a heart with two diagonal lines which cross in the middle and in each of the four compartments thus formed is one of the Capitals, V. E. I. C., *i.e.*, United East India Company. On the top of the heart is the figure 4, the significance of which is still doubtful. Lieut. Moor tells us this mark was put on every thing that the Company sent to India. A large proportion of the Company's coins will be easily recognized but the dating of some of the rupees may perplex. They struck them in the name of Shah'Alam whose rupees were in good repute among the merchants, and adopted the 19th year of his reign as the regnal date (san. 19). This they did not alter from year to year but on the other side they gave the actual Hijrah date. It is well to remember that there are some rupees with the name of Alam-gir on the one side and on the other the date belonging to the reign of Shah'Alam. There are rupees with the name of Arcot given as the mint town and yet they were struck at other places. Some were struck at Calcutta and these bear a rose as a mint mark, while others, struck at Madras, bear the lotus flower. Similarly the Surat rupees were coined both at Calcutta and Bombay and the latter bear as a mint mark a small crown.

The following distinctions in milling are given by Prinsep and may usefully be recorded here:—The following have oblique milling:—The sikka rupee of 1793-1818, the old Farrukhàbàd rupee of 1803-1819, the Benares rupee of 1806-1819, the previous coins having no milling. The following have straight milling:—sikka rupee of 1818-1832, the Farrukhàbàd of 1819-1824, and the Benares one of 1819-1830.

A few coins will be found to have what is called Indented Cord milling resembling the tracing of a narrow cord round the middle of the rim. When once it is seen it will be recognized from the name. The milling of the edge is of course intended to prevent persons from rubbing away or clipping the edges of gold or silver coins and there are a few coins of the Company in which the same object is gained by stamping an inscription round the edge as was done in the old English crown piece. A very full account of the coins of the East India Company is to be found in Mr. Thurston's Catalogue of those coins in the Madras museum, which contains also an illustrated history of the coinage.

Muhammadan coins are easily recognized by their script, but also differ from others by having no images on them, only writing. The name of the ruler, the Hijrah date, often the year of his reign, the name of the mint,—these are the points on which we may expect to get information. Persian is generally the language used on the coins of Delhi, of the East India Company and of the Native States, *e.g.*, *Ín bís kás ast* (*i.e.*, "this is 20 cash") on the copper Madras coin of the East India Company. But Arabic words are also found and in learning to decipher the script there are difficulties which only patient study and practice will overcome. As Dr. Codrington reminds us in his book on Mussalman Numismatics, some inscriptions begin at the bottom and read upwards, and while some are written in beautiful regular characters, most are far otherwise. The letter *alif* the tyro might think would never be a difficulty, yet its top is often carried over and lengthened into a curl or loop, and when writing is arranged in a fancy pattern the letter is often misplaced or even omitted and an *alif* in another place does duty for this also. As to diacritical points they are often left out and when given may be far from the letters to which they belong. The coins are frequently ornamented with dots and it is not easy to say which dots are for use and which are for mere beauty. The Kufic form of Arabic in which the earliest coins are inscribed is still more difficult to read but Dr. Codrington gives much help by his list of Kufic forms. There are certain terms which are constantly found on these coins and they may easily be mastered and will help us in reading the rest of the inscription. Of these the commonest is *zarb*, *i.e.*, struck, the final letter of which is sometimes carried right across the coin as a most

prominent dividing line as is also done at times with *he* and *ye*. This is followed by the name of the Mint town and the Hijrah date and sometimes the year of the reign. *San* or *sanat* year : *jalús* regnal year : *falús* copper coin : *maimanat mánús* tranquil prosperity : *mubárak* blessed, auspicious : *sikka* coined : *Sultán*.

While Arabic or Persian is read from right to left, the numerals are read from left to right as in English. The only exception to this is the dating of Tippu's coins.

The advice I would give to one who wishes to become familiar with the script of these coins, is to get Valentine's "Copper Coins of India, Part I," price ten shillings from W. H. Valentine, 60, Upper Kennington Lane, London, S. E. 11. The plates clearly represent the inscriptions on more than 500 Muhammadan coins each one of which is transliterated and translated and the study of these plates will soon give skill in dealing with similar coins.

During the War numbers of copper coins of Turkey have come into the bazaars and most of them have a peculiar emblem which at once distinguishes them. It is the mark of the Othmanli coinage and is known as the Tughra or Doghra and if carefully analysed by one who is familiar with ornamental writing it will be seen to be a kind of monogram made up of the names of the Sultan and his father, the letters of which intercross and have their upright portions prolonged upwards and twisted in such a way that it is difficult to trace the component parts.

As Tippu's coins with a standing elephant are still found in considerable numbers in our local bazaars it will be helpful if we give in greater detail a list of words which may be found upon them. The following are the names of the chief mint towns which Dr. Taylor has arranged in the order of their frequency: 1. Pattan (*i.e.*, Sẹringapatam), 2. Nagar (in the Shimoga District), 3. Bangalore, 4. Farrukhī (Ferokh), 5. Faid Hisār (Gooty), 6. Calicut, 7. Farrukh-yāb-Hisār (Chitaldrug). There are seven more but they occur on very few coins. Nos. 1, 2 & 7 also are called sometimes Dāru-s-Saltanat. Tippu's eccentricity was further shown by giving artificial names to his coins and inserting them in the legend. It was Dr. Hultzsch who in the Indian Antiquary for 1889 gave us the first full and satisfactory explanation of the names. The following are the names of his copper coins : 1. The 40-cash piece, called at first Othmàni or Asmāni, but in Maulūdī year 1222 changed to *Mushtari* (Jupiter). 2. The 20-cash piece he called *Zahra* (Venus). 3. The 10-cash piece *Bahrám* (Mars). 4. The 5-cash *Akhtar* (Star). 5. The 2½-cash *Qutb* (Pole star). For his silver coins he adapted the names of the Imàms, thus the Double-rupee he called *Haidarí*, for *Haidar* 'lion' was the epithet of

the 'Ali, the first Imām'. 2. The rupee was *Imámí*. 3. The Half-rupee was '*Ábidí* from the fourth Imam. 4. The Quarter-rupee was *Báqirí*, after the 5th Imám. 5. The Two-anna piece was *Ja'fari* after the 6th Imám. 6. The one-anna piece was *Kázimí*, after Mūsā-al-Kāzim, the 7th Imam. 7. The Half-anna piece was *Khidrí*, after Al Khidr, thus leaving the line of Imams. For the gold coins Tippu went a step higher. 1. The Muhr he called an *Áhmadí* from a second form of the name Muhammad. 2. The Half-muhr was *Sadiqí* from the epithet usually given to Abu Bakr, the first of the four Khalifas. 3. The Quarter-muhr, equal in value to the pagoda, was a *Fárúkhí* from the title borne by the second Khalifa. 4. To the smallest gold coin, the fanam or one-tenth of a pagoda, he gave the name of *Rahuti* but it is not found on any of the coins. In the 5th year of his reign he ceased to date his coins from the Hijrah and instead adopted the birth of the Prophet as his starting point and the date was therefore preceded by the word *Maulúdí* (derived from *walada* to give birth). As these years are solar Dr. Taylor points out that the conversion of a year from A.D. to the Maulūdī era is effected simply by subtracting 571. We have already pointed out that the figures of the date itself are written in the English order from left to right. The last four years of his reign he further manifested his eccentricity by putting in a prominent place on his copper coins one of the first four letters of the alphabet. Thus in Maulūdī 1224-5 he put *alif* and the next year *ba* and so on, and the beginner need not be confused by finding these letters apparently unconnected. On the 40-cash piece the letter is put on the banner of the elephant. The most complete information on the coinage of Tippu will be found in Dr. Taylor's paper being No. 1 of the Occasional Memoirs of the Numismatic Society of India, which, I think, is not easily to be obtained. But the Catalogues of the Mysore coins in the Madras museum and in the Bangalore museum are both very full and well illustrated. (Since writing this I find that there has appeared at Madras "The Coins of Haidar Alī and Tīpū Sultān" by J. R. Henderson, C.I.E. Price 4 rupees. It contains 9 Plates admirably executed by the Clarendon Press and will certainly be the leading authority on this subject for a long while to come.)

The coinage of the Nizām's Dominions is interesting and easily obtained and much may be learned about Muhammadan coins by studying it. There were three kinds of old Halli Sicca rupees minted at Haidarabad between 1752 and 1853 and were current till 1904 and though not milled they are well struck and the lettering is in deep relief. The style of inscription on the reverse is as follows: *Sikka-i-mubárak* followed by the name of the Emperor of Delhi, *i.e.*, Muhammad Shahai Alamgir or Muhammad Akbār Bādshāh while on the reverse is *zarb Haidarábád farkhanda banyád jalús maimanat*

mánús, *i.e.*, "struck at H. of happy foundation, in the year of his auspicious reign". Only the initial of the Nizam appears, *i.e.*, *alif* for Asaph-ud-Daulah: *sin* for Sekandar Jah, *nun* for Nasar-ud-Daulah and *mim* for Sir Mahbub Ali Khan Bahādur. It was in 1854 under Sir Sālar Jung that the name of the Nizam took the place of that of the Emperor of Delhi and it was accompanied by the figure 92 which represents the Prophet, as that is the numerical value of the letters, M. H. M. D. In 1894 the rupee was for the first time machine-made but the inscription unchanged. In 1903 the Halli Mahbūbia Sicca rupee was coined which has on the obverse a representation of the Chār Minār with the usual inscription distributed around it. The smaller denominations of the Halli Sicca coins have the same inscriptions as the rupees and these coins we often find used as studs and brooches. Of copper coins the *dab* is well known with its single letter or parts of letters, so carelessly executed that it excites derision. The fact is that it is not coined in the usual way but slabs of copper are stamped with a large die having the full name and title of the Nizam upon it (and the full title includes always that of his father), and then the slab is cut up roughly into small pieces each of which has a portion of the lettering on it. One of the titles of the ruler is Asaph Jah and the State is sometimes spoken of as the Ásaphean State and on the coins the title is Asaph Jah Nizām ul Mulk Bahādur. During the existence of the Delhi emperors the Nizam's official title was "Subedar of the Dekkan". A cheap and interesting pamphlet entitled "Notes on the Hand Minting of Coins of India" has been published at Haidarabad by F. K. Viccajee, the Assistant Superintendent of the mint, which gives much valuable detailed information about the coinage of the State.

Any one collecting coins in the South will soon have his attention drawn to many with a monogram in which a large V is the prominent letter. On one of the arms of the V will be found O and on the other C and some of these coins will be small and thick. The letters are the initials of the Dutch East India Company (*Vereinigte Ostindische Compagnie*). At the bottom will generally be the date and a letter will be sometimes on the coin indicating the place at which it was struck, *e.g.*, N for Nagapatam, P for Pulicat, C for Colombo. There are also the copper duits or challis, which were current for a long time in Cochin which was the Dutch capital, coins about the size of a paisa but thinner. On one side is the monogram and on the other the arms of Holland or of one of its provinces. The coins are well struck and interesting and are described and illustrated and described by both Tufnell and by Jackson ("Dominions, Emblems and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties"). The Danish East India Company has left behind a

long series of coins representing the kings of Denmark from 1588 to 1848. Most of these are dated and are struck at Tranquebar in a somewhat rude fashion. On the obverse is either the initial or the monogram of the king with a crown over it. Small four-cash pieces are by far the commonest of these coins. On the reverse of the early issues is found D. O. C. linked and crowned, for Dansk Ostindisk Compagni and after 1730 it is changed to D. A. C., for Dansk Asiatisk Compagni. The fullest account of the Indo-Danish coinage is in an article contributed to the Madras Journal of Literature and Science 1888-89 by Messrs. Rangachari and Desikachari.

The coins of the French East India Company are generally easily identified by having on one side the figure of a cock or of the fleur-de-lys, and on the reverse a letter or two in Tamil of the word Puducheri, the native name of Pondicheri.

In the bazaars of the Deccan there are still to be found a large number of old thick copper coins weighing from one to two hundred grains belonging to ancient dynasties, minted in Aurangabad, Golkonda, Bijapur and Surat and inscribed in large thick Persian characters. Even more common, Major Jackson says, are the thick copper coins of the Mahratta kings of Sātāra, known as the Chhatrapati pice, especially the issue of the great Sivāji (1674-80). These of course are inscribed in Devanagari. The ordinary early copper coins of the southern part of the Peninsula are quite different in appearance, being generally not more than 50 grains in weight, and smaller and thinner. There is usually a symbol on them but seldom is an inscription to be found. Hence there is uncertainty as to their origin. The clearest arrangement and most helpful notes for a beginner are perhaps to be found in Major Jackson's "Dominions, etc., of South Indian Dynasties" to which reference has already been made; Loventhal's "Coins of Tinnevelli" and Elliot's "South Indian Coins" contain much relevant matter. Occasionally there may be found silver punch-marked coins. These small flat thin pieces of silver have been cut into various shapes and stamped with different symbols of which perhaps the commonest is a small rayed circle representing the sun. They are thought to date from early times and are generally connected with the Buddhists, but our knowledge of them does not go beyond conjecture.

Some early lead coins are also found with an animal on one side and on the other four circles or a cross with a ball at the extremity of each of the equal four arms. This too is thought to be of Buddhist origin. Speaking generally, we may say that the four early historical kingdoms of the South were the Chera with its capital at Salem and its favourite symbol a bow, the Pandyan with its capital at Madura and its symbol a fish, the

Chola at Tanjore for the most part and its symbol a tiger. The Western Chālukyas at Kalyāna had a gold coinage with the sign of a boar, the influence of which, Elliot says, has been lasting, for " from the extensive circulation of the Chalukya money bearing the figure of this animal and its adoption by the succeeding dynasty of Vijayanagar, the name of the pieces in most of the vernaculars has come to be that of *varaha or varáha, i.e.*, boar." As to these symbols Professor Rapson says it is almost certain that, in accordance with the usage of South India, historical facts are expressed by the heraldic symbols which occur on these coins and so we may be helped in our classification of them, a fact easily illustrated by the examples in Tufnell's book and Jackson's. With Rājarāja in A.D. 1022 when the Chola dynasty was becoming paramount in South India, there came a new type of coin, still to be found in considerable numbers, having in many cases the king's name in Devanagari. In well-worn specimens perhaps only parallel wavy lines run across the coin; but its style is unmistakable and easily recognized. The less-worn coins show the form of what may be supposed to represent a man or a demon standing upright with grotesquely long legs and short body and by the side in some cases letters either in Devanagari or in Tamil. On the reverse the man can be imagined to be crouching sideways and under his left arm are the letters which represent " Rajaraja ". It is well to become familiar with these features by studying the illustrations in Coin Catalogues, not omitting Thurston's Catalogue of Ceylon Coins in the Madras museum. These are of two distinct kinds: some are thick in the middle, gradually becoming thin towards the edge, in three sizes weighing about 60, 24 and 9 grains respectively and are attributed to South India. The others of uniform thickness, in clearer relief and more easily deciphered, were thought by Prinsep to be connected with Ceylon and are generally known as the Ceylon series of Chola coins. They date from the 11th or 12th century. The copper coins of the Vijayanagar kings have been dealt with most fully by Dr. Hultzsch in the 20th volume of the Indian Antiquary. They have on them such names as Pratāpa, Harihara, Vīra Bukka, Devarāya mostly in Devanagari but occasionally in Kanarese or Telugu whilst a special class have the word *Srídhara* on one side and a symbol of an animal or of a god on the other. The collector must not be misled by a small coin bearing the word *Vijaya* in Telugu. It does not belong to the Vijayanagar dynasty but to the State of Puducotta and is coined especially for distribution during the Dasarah. The figure on the obverse represents Brihadambā, the family deity of the Tondiman or Raja. These are in two styles: there are old clumsily struck pieces dating from 1729 and there are the pretty little modern coins not half an inch in diameter apparently coined for the State at some British

mint. The district of Madura is a rich hunting ground for coins and several excellent collections have been formed by residents in that part. Old copper coins have been found in great numbers with inscriptions in Tamil that are nearly obliterated and such words as, samara kolāhala sundara pandiya, vira pandiyan, ketu, can be conjecturally deciphered. Sir W. Elliot gives most that was known of these Pandyan coins 35 years ago and we do not seem to have got a great deal further yet. Still coins promise much and may any day give us the key that so long has been wanted. On all such points I am sure that skilled advice and willing help may be found at the Bangalore museum or the Office of the Director of Archæological Research.

For general information on coins and coin collecting the Numismatic Circular is most helpful. It is issued at present every two months at a yearly subscription of five shillings, post free, by Spink & Son of 17, Piccadilly, the leading coin dealers of the Empire. It serves the purpose of a price list of the coins they have on sale and their descriptions of their coins are perfectly reliable: when they say a coin is F you can rely on its being fine, and when E. F. exceptionally fine, and when P it is poor. But there is also a large amount of interesting information regarding the meetings of numismatic societies and finds of old coins in different parts of the empire, with occasional lists of second hand numismatical books, with much else that need not be specified. It will be seen that Greek and Roman coins and early British coins are the ones on which very large sums of money may be spent and the collector of Indian coins must recognize that the commercial value of his coins is little more than the value of their metal. Still the historical mind has other criteria of worth and it may be that in another hundred years the coins may have a large market value also. Since 1904 the Asiatic Society of Bengal has issued separately a Numismatic Supplement to its Journal and this contains much information from the pens of some of the leading numismatists in India, and the more recent issues may be seen on the table of our Society's Reading Room. The Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, deals with more than 20,000 pieces, is compiled by numismatists of the highest rank and is fully illustrated in the best style by the Clarendon Press. To us it is interesting to note that the coins of Bengal are dealt with by Sir James Bourdillon, K.C.S.I., formerly our Resident in Bangalore who made a special study of the coins of that province. A similar catalogue has been published for the coins of the Lahore museum and yet another is in the press for those of the Lucknow museum.

Sir A. Cunningham's books, one on the Coins of Ancient India and the other on those of Mediæval India are still most valuable and are well

illustrated, but the coins he describes are to be found chiefly in the bazaars of North India. Rapson's book on the Coins of India deals with them as sources of Indian History and is full of references to the literature of the subject, most useful to one who has access to a large library on oriental subjects. The books which Valentine is issuing will be invaluable to the collector wishing to identify his coins. The time taken in the compilation of his lists added to the manual labour involved in preparing for the lithographer the sketches of all the coins described lay us under great obligation to him. "The Copper Coins of India, Part I," deals with the Coins of Bengal and the United Provinces, Part II with those of the Punjab and contiguous Native States including Kashmir, price one guinea, and Part III will deal with those of Bombay, Rajputana and Central India. He has a similar book dealing with the Modern Copper coins of Eastern Muhammadan States, such as Turkey, Persia, Morocco, etc., and yet another on somewhat different lines for Sassanian coins. Tufnell gives useful hints on making casts of coins. It is hardly necessary to say that the so-called silver coins hawked about by the women folk of the Afghan horse dealers are forgeries, though well executed.

We trust that these discussive notes may prove helpful to some who are beginning to take an interest in such old coins as may be found in this part of the country. When however a serious attempt is made to help historical research the private collector will do most good by concentrating his efforts on some limited field. This is the unanimous testimony of leading numismatists both of the East and the West.

———

MYSORE CASTES & TRIBES—A GENERAL SURVEY.

(A Paper read before the Mythic Society.)

BY C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

WHO were the first inhabitants of India? Were the Negritos the first to settle in it and do the jungle and forest tribes of South India represent them in these days? Who were the Dravidians? How did they reach India? What was the effect of the impact of the Aryan on the non-Aryan in India? What of caste? Was it the invention of the Indo-Aryan or the result of a compromise between differing racial types, with social traits of a kind whose evolution did not always run on parallel lines? These are some of the questions that confront us at the very threshold of Indian ethnology. For their study, the Mysore State offers many opportunities to the investigator. The State has many tribes and castes resident in it which deserve careful study. Investigators so far have not, by any means, exhausted the subject. Thus, for instance, further study of the peculiar tribe of Kadu Gollas seems necessary. They have many unique customs. Then there are Hale Paiks of Nagar Malnad. At least one well-known investigator has drawn attention to the peculiar similarity between their customs and the Todas of the Nilgiris. Of the Todas, it has been said by Dr. Rivers, the latest writer on this unique tribe of South India, that they reached the Nilgiri plateau from the Malabar side. The reasoning of Dr. Rivers is by no means free from doubt. Both the Toda language and their customs help us to infer that they should have ascended the ghauts from the Mysore side. Later, in their wake, followed the Kotas, whose language has been termed by Caldwell as a "very old" dialect of Kanarese, and the Badagas whose very name (Northerner) shows their Mysore origin. Then, again, take the magnificent-looking Bedars who formed the strength of Haidar's great armies; the faithful Gollas who have always preferred death to treachery to their masters; the fine manly tribe of Banjaras, who have many curious customs to boast of; the Gangadi Vokkaligas, who form the bulk of the agricultural population, noted as much for their industry as for their shrewd intelligence; Kurubars though traditionally reckoned dull are really far from being so; and a great many other castes who could be easily named. About all these more information to determine various points of interest about them.

The earliest description of Mysore Castes and Tribes is to be found of the writing of Abbé Dubois who laboured for nearly a quarter of a century in Mysore after the fall of Seringapatam. Lieut.-Col. Mark Wilks included

ome stray notes on certain sections of the people of Mysore in his *Historical Sketches*, a work originally published in two volumes in 1810 and 1817 respectively. Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards known as Hamilton) also devoted some attention to this subject in his narrative of a *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar.* Sporadic descriptions of individual castes and tribes, or of particular sections of them are also to be found in the writings of past officers in the Mysore Service. Some of these are to be seen in the earlier volumes of the *Indian Antiquary. The District Gazetteers* of Mysore and Kolar issued in the sixties of last century allotted some space to the different castes and tribes living in them but the first real attempt to give a systematic account of the more important of them was made by Mr. Rice in his *editio princeps* of the *Mysore Gazetteer* issued in 1876. The information contained in this publication was improved in the second edition of that work issued in 1897. By that time much useful information had been collected and made public in the Census Report for 1891. Mr. Ananda Rao's Report on the Census of 1901 added still further to this information and the interest thus awakened in the study of castes and tribes by a succession of writers prepared the way for a comprehensive survey of the whole of them by a special agency. This was rendered the more necessary when the Government of India, at the instance of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, undertook a general Ethnographic Survey of British India for which a scheme was drawn up by the late Sir H.H. Risley. In pursuance of this scheme, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore directed an Ethnographic Survey of the State and appointed the late Mr. H. V. Nanjundaiya, M.A., M.L., C.I.E., as Director of the same. In this connection, Mr. E. Thurston, the then Superintendent of the Madras Museum, was enabled to conduct an anthropometric survey of the people of the State as well. His results are included in *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*. Mr. H. V. Nanjundaiya's descriptions of the Castes and Tribes of Mysore have been issued tentatively as bulletins by the Mysore Government Press, Bangalore, and a consolidated edition of the work has been long overdue.

In the general survey attempted herein, I have used with care not only the information gleaned from these various sources but also something gathered by myself while I was privileged to work with Mr. Thurston in his anthropometric survey of the State. The object aimed at is not so much a study of each individual caste as a study of the general rites, customs and habits of the main castes of the State with a view to drawing certain general conclusions therefrom. These conclusions I propose to set down under these primary heads :—

1. Evidence of Matriarchate.
2. Pre-Marital Communism.

3. Post-Marital License.
4. Divorce.
5. Polygamy.
6. Widow-Remarriage :
    - (*a*) Levirate.
    - (*b*) Form of Remarriage.
7. Influence of Brahmanism.
8. Restrictions on Marriage.
9. Totemism.
10. Hypergamy.
11. Forms of Marriage :
    - i. (*a*) Purchase of Bride.
    - (*b*) Relics of Marriage by capture.
    - ii. Marriage ceremonies.
    - iii. Marriage seasons.
12. Adoption.
13. Inheritance.
14. Other minor characteristics.
15. Funeral ceremonies.
16. Some unusual or curious customs.

The above heads, however, do not by any means exhaust the subject. There are other points to consider, such for instance, the connection of the Mysore tribes and castes with those of identical or allied names in the adjoining British Provinces ; the filiation of some of those now exclusively resident in the British districts with those found in this State ; the inferences that could be drawn in regard to the ultimate racial origins of the Mysore Castes and Tribes from their physical characteristics as made out from Mr. Thurston's survey, etc. These questions, however, I do not propose to touch upon in the present paper. I am just now concerned only with the ethnographic aspect of Mysore Castes and Tribes ; the anthropometric and other aspects may be taken up later, in a different paper, if that is found possible.

General Characteristics of Mysore Castes.

So far as enquiries have gone, there is no evidence among any of the castes and tribes of Mysore of the general existence at sometime in the past or now of Polyandry.

Mother-kin.

Evidence of the existence, however, at one time of *mutterecht* (or mother right) is traceable among several of them. Under this system, often called the Matriarchate, descent was traced and property transmitted in the female line. Earlier writers supposed this to be a relic of a state of society where

owing to promiscuity or polyandry it was impossible to affiliate the children. Recent opinion, however, inclines to the view that its origin is to be sought rather in the fact that paternity itself was once not understood. In those primitive times a woman's children belonged to her family rather to her husband's. Among many castes and tribes in the State, a man actually seeks to continue his family at the present day through a daughter who lives in his house. This is so among the Kurubas, Bedas, Vaddas, Dombars, Madigas, Holeyas and Killekyatas. Among most of these, when there are no sons born of the marriage, adoption is hardly ever resorted to. Instead the lineage is perpetuated through the daughter. The daughter, in this case, is not given away in marriage as usual but is dedicated to the God or Goddess—Saivite or Vaishnavite according to the caste of the family—and turned, as it is called, into a Basavi. This term, literally meaning "She-Bull," carries with it the import of "procreator". This name has been given because she raises progeny for the family of her father. A Basavi, after dedication, usually remains in her father's house and can consort with any one belonging to her own caste or a superior caste. Her children belong to her father and inherit direct from him. She has herself all the rights of a son and in default of sons inherits all her father's property. Her issues not only inherit her father's property but are also deemed for every purpose—including marriage—legitimate. The ceremony of dedication is essentially the same among all those castes. Among the Kurubas, a day is selected and the girl is led in procession under a cloth canopy carried overhead, like an ordinary bride, to the temple, a *kalasa* (a consecrated pot of water) and fruits (five coconuts, five date fruits, etc.) and rice and betel leaves being carried by a married woman. After prostrations to the God or Goddess at the temple and the presiding *Pūjāri* (priest), the girl is seated on a *Kambli* (blanket), facing the East. Then the permission of the caste Guru is obtained for the tying of the *tāli*, which is tied by an elderly Basavi or a married woman, who before doing so rubs her hands and feet with saffron. A *Kankana* (wrist-band) of betel leaves is also tied to her right hand. Then the assembled people throw yellow coloured rice upon her by way of blessing. This is followed by her being made to put on silver bangles and toe rings—other symbols of a married woman. The ceremony is followed by a caste dinner. Among the Bedas, the approximation of the ceremony to a regular marriage is even more striking. The regular marriage booth of twelve pillars is erected, a procession goes to the temple where the girl is seated by the side of a dagger and the *tāli* is tied to her by the *Purōhit* (priest) or *by her maternal uncle's son*. The caste dinner follows and the ceremony is over. After three days, the girl is free to take to her bed any man who is not of a

caste lower than her own. The first person who receives her favours has generally to pay her father the expenses incurred by him for making her a Basavi. Among the Madigas, the dagger placed beside the girl is worshipped by the girl pouring over it some rice in token of her having been wedded to it. Then the *tāli* is tied by the *Pūjāri* or an old Basavi, after touching the dagger with it. The girl next carries the dagger and places it within the temple. The *Pūjāri* gives her a cane and a begging pouch which she hangs on her left shoulder. She is then branded on the shoulders with a Shankha and a Chakra. If she is a virgin, she is branded with a Chakra on her breast. Formerly it is said that the girl was required to sleep three nights in the temple, but now she spends one night there and often this is also dispensed with. A girl thus turned a Basavi among the Madigas may consort with men of any caste except a Holeya. A much simpler form of ceremony is observed if the dedication takes place on the marriage day of the God at the Kurubatti Mailari Temple. Here annually in March and April a very large number of girls are turned into Basavis. They are first bathed and then brought to the temple, where in front of it the wrist-bands and the *tālis* are tied to them. They, thereafter, sleep that night in the temple and then go to their homes. During the annual festival of Mariamma, the presence of some Madiga Basavis is secured wherever they are available. When new pots are brought for this festival and when the buffalo is led to the sacrificial post, Basavis come dancing and singing songs in praise of Mariamma and spitting on the by-standers. The significance of their connection with the festival of the Goddess is not clear. Possibly it might refer to the belief that the worship of this popular Goddess —as those of the Divine Mothers so largely believed in by the people in Southern India—had its origin in mother-kin. Among the Vaddas, over-aged girls who cannot get suitable husbands for themselves are also turned into Basavis. The ceremony is the same and their children inherit property along with their grandfather's male issue. Occasionally the turning of a girl into a Basavi is the consequence of a vow taken by her parents when she was afflicted with some dangerous malady. A form of dedication of women in favour of the whole caste is also found prevalent among certain castes, notably the Bedas. A woman thus dedicated is called a *Kulambidda, i.e.*, child of the caste. Even widows with issue and divorced women can be made "children of the caste" after their paying a fine to the caste and standing the expense of a caste dinner. A woman who wishes to become "a child of the caste" asks formal permission to do so at a meeting of the castemen, who, as a token of consent, give her a handful of the food prepared for the feast, which she partakes of along with them. She has thereafter the right to cohabit, like a Basavi, with men of her own or of a superior caste. The chief distinction between

a Basavi and a Kulambidda is that, while the former's children are looked upon as legitimate, the latter's are treated as illegitimate. The children of a Basavi inherit direct from their grandfather while those of a Kulambidda do not. The affiliation of a son-in-law in the family is also widely prevalent. Among the Holeyas, a resident son-in-law receives an equal share of his father-in-law's property with his brothers-in-law. Among the Bedas, Vaddas, Gangadikara Vokkaligas, Morasu Vokkaligas, Gollas and a section of Ganigas, a similar custom, called *Illatom* in Telugu and *Manevālatana* in Kannada, is found to be prevalent. It is rare among Komatis but is not altogether unknown. According to this custom when a man has no sons, a daughter is married to a man who agrees to become a member of the family and who thereafter resides in the father-in-law's house and inherits his estates for his children. Illatom literally means *acting as the son of the family*. A son-in-law thus affiliated gets a share in the property equal to that of the son and in the absence of any sons becomes sole heir to the father-in-law. A Basavi and an Illatom son-in-law as such perform the funeral obsequies of the father or father-in-law from whom they inherit.

Among most castes and tribes in the State, the important position assigned to a woman's brother gives us a glimpse of the days when the family centred round the mother and her brother and not her husband. It might be stated that the universal practice among castes and tribes of the State is for a man to ask for the hand of his sister's daughter either for himself or for his son. It is a binding custom among the Korachas that the first two daughters of a woman must be given, at a reduced bride-price, to her brother to be married either by himself or to his sons. If he has no sons and does not himself stand in need of the girls for marriage, his right to them is exercised by his getting two-fifths of the bride-price payable for each of them at their marriage. The usual bride-price in the caste—20 pagodas—is reduced to 12 pagodas if the maternal uncle takes the bride. Among the Vaddas, the bride-price varies from Rs. 7 to Rs. 15, according to family custom, but this amount may be compounded for by the bridegroom agreeing to serve his father-in-law till he begets a female child and presents her to his brother-in-law. Among the Sanyasis, very often the son-in-law remains in his father-in-law's house until he becomes a father of two or three children before he settles down separately. The right to a sister's daughter is not lost even when the sister lives unmarried in her father's house. In such a case, the brother does not himself marry such a sister's daughter but he has no objection to take her in marriage to his son. The maternal uncle, indeed, has to be consulted in regard to the marriage of his nephew or niece and not infrequently he himself makes all the arrangements necessary in connection

with it. Among the Kurubas, Agasas, Helavas, Killekyatas, Kumbaras, Sādas, Īdigas, Nayindas, Tigalas, etc., it is the right and duty of the maternal uncle to cut the chief post of Kalli (*Euphorbia Tirukalli*) required for erecting the marriage booth. It is this post which ensures, it is said, the continuity of the line. Among the Holeyas, the *tāli* is tied to the bride by the maternal uncle. Among the Komatis a portion of the presents made to the bride must go to the maternal uncle and another portion to the bride's sister. Among the Sales and the Nagaratas, a peepul branch is cut and brought by the maternal uncle for erecting the marriage booth and he is paid Rs. 4-8-0 for his trouble. Among the Īdigas and Telugu Banajigas, the duty of tying the chaplet (*Bhāsinga*) to the bridegroom's forehead is discharged by the maternal uncle. Among the Kumbaras, a chaplet tied can only be removed by the maternal uncle. Among the Kumbaras, the bride is brought to the marriage booth by her maternal uncle. So also among the Helavas and Gangadi Vokkaligas.

Among the Morasu Vokkaligas, the maternal uncle ties the fringes of the cloths of the bride and bridegroom as soon as the *tāli* is tied and they then exchange rice and salt, a sign of swearing mutual fidelity. Among the Kadu Gollas, the bride-price is made over by the father, on payment, to the maternal uncle. Among the Medaras, the bride is a second time given away by the maternal uncle. Similarly among the Korachas, the maternal uncle cuts the Nerala (*Jambolana*) tree. Among the Tigalas, no marriage can be agreed to without the maternal uncle consenting to it. A parent so agreeing is tried by the caste tribunal and adequately dealt with for his delinquency. Among the Komatis, the maternal uncle's daughter is claimed as of right by his sister. The phrase *Komati Menarikam*, literally meaning the *Komati's maternal relationship*, is a well-known one. It really means a relationship from which there is no escape. Where a man has no daughter to give in marriage to his sister's son, he has to secure a girl for him. Indeed, this prominence at marriages of the maternal uncle, the claiming at the time of marriage of the milk-price (lit. breast milk wages) * among certain castes and tribes by the mother, besides the bride-price, which went wholly apparently to the mother's brother and now partially to him, and the practical obliteration of the father and his rights during the time the marriage lasts—all these show that in ages past the mother and her brother possessed rights which later were usurped by the father. A few other customs indicating mother-right may be added here. When a Koracha girl gets tattooed for the first time, her paternal aunt is invited to a dinner and presented with a new cloth on the occasion. A brother is entitled to the hand of even his younger sister's

* *Cf.* Tamil *mulaipāl Kūli*, wages for breast-milk.

daughter when he loses his first wife and he cannot get a woman to wed him. Among the Tigalas, after the marriage is over, when the couple go to prostrate before the consecrated pots, the sister of the bridegroom bars the passage till he utters the name of his wife. He refuses and tries to get off by a promise of giving her a cow or the first-born daughter in marriage to her son. Similarly, among the Telugu Banajigas, the sister bars the passage and gets a promise from the bridegroom that he would give the first-born daughter to her son. Among the Madigas, the remnants of the ceremonial feast (*Buvvada Pūje*) must go to the bride's relations, as a matter of right. When a woman is divorced, she says, she goes to "her mother's house" and not to "her father's". This is significant in view of what we have said above about mother-right. The mother's property, whatever it is, usually goes to her daughter and not to her husband or sons.

Pre-marital Communism.

Among the majority of castes and tribes, a great deal of freedom is allowed between the sexes prior to the marriage, so long as they confine their amours to members of their own or a superior caste. Most castes strictly prohibit intercourse between persons of the same exogamous group, but it none the less occasionally takes place. In such a case, the usual practice (as among the Vaddas) is to make the man pay a fine to the caste which is double the usual amount and to require him to marry her. If he declines to do so, he is put out of caste, and she is allowed to marry any other person. Among the Holeyas, sexual license before marriage is connived at or at least tolerated. If a young woman remains unmarried in her father's house, she may entertain casual visitors, and if she forms a permanent connection thus, the man may tie a *tāli* to her. The usual bride-price has to be paid and the issue of such a marriage is considered legitimate even though they were born before the tying of the *tāli*. In some places an unmarried girl might with impunity live with any caste man, but if she becomes pregnant she has not only to marry her lover (unless he rejects her) but has to pay to the caste a fine of Rs. 8. The man is also fined by the Headman, who may require the man to marry the girl. If he refuses, he is put out of caste. The woman has then the right to take another man, the betrayer being compelled to compensate her by paying Rs. 25 and giving her requisite new clothing. Very similar customs prevail among the Madigas, Gangadikar Vokkaligas, Īdigas, Upparas, Kumbaras and Handi Jogis. Among the Korachas, a woman may remain unmarried without incurring any social odium. But if she has a secret lover, she must disclose his name and marry him, if he is a casteman, after paying a fine to the caste. If he is of a superior caste, she pays a fine and marries a

casteman. If he is of a lower caste, she is thrown out of caste. Among the Tigalas, a man may consort with a woman of any caste except the lowest, such as a Holeya, Madiga, etc., and his children are reckoned as Tigalas. Among the Dombars, sexual lapse before marriage is proverbial. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant by a man of the same caste, she has to marry him and the man has to pay the full bride-price in addition to a fine levied from him which goes to the caste headman. If he refuses to marry, he is put out of caste, and the woman is purified by the headman giving her consecrated water. She may then marry another man or become a regular prostitute, after paying a small fine to the caste. If an unmarried woman should bear children to a man of higher caste, she and her children are made to pay a fine and admitted into the caste after an expiatory ceremony. This ceremony consists in cutting a few locks of her hair, slightly burning her tongue with a bit of gold, making her swallow some consecrated cowdung and getting her to beg pardon of the *Guru* of the caste. She may thereafter marry any one of the caste, to whom she goes with the children. If, however, she elects to become a caste prostitute, she may do so after being dedicated as such by a regular ceremony. This is rather an elaborate one but is not dissimilar to the ceremony of dedication of a Basavi. The chief points to notice are that only Basavis take part in it, that the *tāli* is tied by the maternal uncle of the girl, and that the girl obtains formal license from the assembled castemen and the headman for the life she is hereafter to lead. Among one section of the caste, a measure filled with rice with a cotton thread round it is placed, at the time of dedication, beside the girl to represent the bridegroom when she sits in the temple at the time the ceremony takes place. A woman thus dedicated must restrict her amours to castemen or to members of a superior caste. Among the Banjaras though the seducing of an unmarried woman is met with heavy punishment, still it is not discountenanced. The man is made to undergo a modified form of marriage with the girl, after the payment of a fine to the caste and compensation to the parents. This renders the previous offspring of the union legitimate. If the man is unwilling to marry her, she pays a small fine and is taken into the caste with her children. She then is at liberty to marry any member of the caste, who takes her along with the children, without incurring any social odium. During the Holi Feast, the women of this caste go out to collect doles for the festival and any lapses they may be guilty of in the course of their wanderings are easily condoned. Festivals of this kind are regarded as affording an occasion for great sexual license amongst many primitive communities in India and also in other parts of the world.

Post-marital License.

Though the chastity of the wife is generally valued and is, as a matter of fact, the rule among most castes and tribes, great freedom is known to prevail within the limits of the caste among them. Among the Kurubas, for instance, adultery on the part of a woman with a man of the same or a higher caste is condoned by the tribal head, but if the man who receives her favours be of a lower caste, she is put out of the caste. She is compelled to remove herself to the Madiga quarters and cattle horn and bones and margosa leaves are thrown into her house, evidently to show that she has become as low as the Madigas in the estimation of her quondum castemen. Among the Bedas, Agasas, Besthas, Tigalas, Morasu Vokkaligas, Īdigas, Upparas, Kumbaras and Medaras, if the husband has no objection the wife's adultery may be expiated for by the payment of a fine to the caste. Among the Korachas, sale or mortgage of wives is not uncommon. Among the thieving section of this caste, the children born to a married woman through *liaison* during the time her husband has been away serving his sentence in a jail are reckoned and acknowledged as his own by the latter after he returns home. A similar custom is prevalent among the Banjaras. In the same caste, the wife is not infrequently considerably older than the husband by reason of the man not foregoing his right to the hand of his sister's daughter. In consequence of this custom, the women are allowed to cohabit with near relatives, the husband acknowledging the children born by such connection as his own. Among the Dombars, elopement after the marriage of a woman is common and is expiated for by the payment of a fine to the caste, besides reimbursement to the husband of his marriage expenses. If the husband refuses to have her back, the woman is fined by the caste Panchayat and turned into a regular caste prostitute (*Kulambidda*). Among the Madigas, it is said that a wife who is living with a person other than her lawful husband may after the lapse of some years be reconciled to her husband and go back to his protection with any children which may have been born to her in the interval. A somewhat similar custom prevails among the Handi Jogis. Among many other castes, such as the Gollas, Killekyatas, Mondarus, Helavas and others, infidelity on the part of a wife is condoned by the husband, and the caste *panchayats* only inflict nominal fines.

Divorce.

Marriage being a religious sacrament among orthodox Hindus—Brahmans and those following their customs in this matter—divorce as such does not exist, though infidelity might mean expulsion from the caste to a married woman. Among others, however, divorce is both simple and easy. Divorce can be brought about at the instance of either party for infidelity on the part of

the wife or incompatibility of temper between the parties or loss of caste by either party. A fine is usually paid to the caste by the party adjudged to be at fault. In either case the wife has to return to her husband the *tāli* tied to her on the marriage occasion. Also the jewels if any presented to her then, as also the bride-price, and the marriage expenses incurred by the husband, in case she marries another man. In case she marries her paramour, the bride-price and the amount of the marriage expenses of the previous husband will be collected from him. Such a marriage is always in the *Kudike* form. The bride-price paid for a divorced woman varies, but is usually considerably less than the regular bride-price. It is said that, after divorce, the parties cannot reunite if they wished to do so. Among the Besthas, the paramour has only to pay half the marriage expenses to the first husband. Among the Tigalas, impotency is a reasonable ground for divorce on the part of a wife. In such a case, she returns the *tāli* to her husband and remarries after paying a small fine to the caste. In case the husband refuses to consent to the dissolution of the marriage tie, the woman has only to return her *tāli* to the *Gauda* and *Ganachary* in a caste assembly, after which she ceases to be his wife. Among Vaddas, when a divorce takes place, the bride-price is not returned. Parents desiring to take daughters who have been divorced by their husbands have to pay a fine to the caste. Despite all these restrictions, divorce is singularly popular in this caste. A proverb goes to the effect that "a woman who has consorted with seven men is a respectable Boyi (*i.e.*, Vadda) matron". Among the Korachas and the Handi Jogis, divorce enjoys a similar popularity. Some castes do not permit so much latitude. Thus among the Kadu Gollas, a divorced woman is not allowed to remarry. In fact she is put out of caste. Similarly, among the Devangas and the Kumbaras, the woman cannot marry a second time after obtaining a divorce. Among the Īdigas, in some parts of the State, the woman is not allowed to remarry until the death of her first husband. Among Gollas, though the woman cannot remarry, she may live in the keeping of a man of the same caste. Among the Killekyatas the separation is signalized by the husband's taking away the *tāli* and bangles given by him and by tearing the loose end of the wife's garment. A similar custom is found among the Handi Jogis. Among the Banjaras, divorce may be obtained almost at will, the only condition necessary being the assent of the Nayak for which one rupee has to be paid as a fee. If the woman is pregnant at the time, the child may, after its birth, be claimed by the previous husband and taken possession of.

Polygamy.

Though both Hindu Law and usage allow a man to take as many wives

as he desires, it is only rarely that a man of any caste or tribe takes advantage of the privilege. The special reasons that might sanction a second wife are the failure of the first to bear a son, or her affliction by an incurable disease or infirmity. In such cases not only the consent of the first wife but also of the caste is necessary. Usually the wife herself moves first in the matter and arranges for the second marriage of her husband. She not infrequently encourages her husband to take a second wife to save the family from extinction. Where a sister of the first wife is available, she is usually taken in marriage as the second wife, the first wife playing the part of a mother to her in her husband's house. Some amount of compulsory polygamy prevails among certain castes (for example, the Banjaras) owing to the practice which prevails amongst them of expecting a man to marry his elder brother's widow. Among most castes (*e.g.* Kurubas and Holeyas) it is usual to discourage Polygamy by levying a fine on the party guilty of it. When a man marries a second wife, while the first one is still alive, he is made to pay *Savati Hana* (or co-wife's price) which is sometimes about half as much again as the bride-price current in the caste.

Widow Remarriage.

Among the higher castes widows do not remarry as marriage is considered a religious sacrament. This theory, however, has not permeated the generality of Hindu castes and tribes in the State. Among those who do not remarry their widows are the Komatis, Kadu Gollas, sections of the Īdigas, Nayindas, Devangas and Kumbaras, the non-Lingayat Śādas, Nagartas, Banajigas (except the Mannuta section, who are regarded as being low in the social scale) and the Ganigas. The Gollas, Morasu Vokkaligas and Kunchigas stand in a mid-position. They discountenance widow remarriage, but if a widow chose to re-marry or live with a widower as his concubine, she is allowed to do so and her children form a *Salu* or branch of their own. The members of the caste do not intermarry with them though they have no objection to interdine. Among some castes (notably the remarrying section of Kumbaras) the restriction as to intermarriage extends only to three generations, after which *Jus connubium* is restored. Amongst the Kadu Gollas, the feeling against remarriage is intense. They, indeed, believe that a woman on losing her husband becomes the bride of the tutelary deity and so she can neither remarry nor be allowed to part with her bangles and *tāli* which she is allowed to wear as usual. Excepting the castes mentioned, widow remarriage is extremely common in the State. Usually there is no restriction as to the number of times a widow can marry. Among Vaddas, Dombars, Korachas, Handi Jogis a woman remarries as many as seven times. Among the Gangadikar Vokkaligas it is usual to remarry as many as three times. Some of this caste believe that persistent remittent fever (quartant ague) is cured if the person

suffering from it drinks water given by a thrice married woman. Except among the Banjaras a widow cannot marry her deceased husband's brother, elder or younger. Among most castes she cannot marry any agnatic relation of her late husband. The restriction is extended among a few other castes (*e.g.*, Kurubas, Helavas, Bedas, Sanyasis and Holeyas) to all persons belonging to the exogamous sept of the husband. Among the Korachas, however, though she cannot marry her late husband's brother, she may marry any one belonging to his division or sept. It is usual for the widow, especially when she is young and without children, to return to her mother's house before offering herself again for marriage. Among the Īdigas there can be no question of remarriage while the widow stays in her late husband's house. This right of remarriage is, however, subject to certain conditions. These are that she should obtain the consent of her parents, the parents of her late husband and of the caste headman. She should also hand over the children, if any, by the first marriage, to her late husband's parents. She should also in some cases return the jewels (including the *tāli*) which her previous husband might have given her. Among some castes (*e.g.*, Upparas) a further payment called the "release money" should be made to the late husband's parents. Among most castes, a widow may marry only a widower, but a bachelor may marry her by payment of a fine and by performing in addition a mock marriage with a tree (usually as among the Upparas and Helavas), the Ekke (*Calatropis Gigantea*) or other inanimate object. A bride-price has to be paid but it is usually a sum smaller than (sometimes half) that paid for a virgin bride. A widower when he wants to marry a virgin has, on the contrary, to pay an enhanced bride-price. Among certain castes (*e.g.*, Nayindas, Madigas, and Agasas) among whom a widow can remarry as many times as she likes, it is said that at every subsequent marriage the bride-price is reduced to half the amount paid at the previous marriage. It is said that this reduction is made in the bride-price because, as among the Korachas, the new husband has to maintain until they are grown up, the children of the previous marriage. Among the Vaddas, widow marriage is very popular; a widow may marry her late husband's cousins. The bride-price paid for a widow goes to the previous husband's parents or in default to the widow's parents. Among some castes (*e.g.*, Īdigas) this is returned by the parents of the late husband to the caste. It is usual also to levy a further fine from the new husband which among most castes goes to the caste Guru, who, as among the Kurubas, in return presents to the couple some consecrated cowdung ashes. Among the Korachas the amount paid to the caste by the previous husband is returned to his heir, an equivalent sum being paid to it by the new husband.

The Levirate.

There are in the State but a few traces of the *Levirate*, the custom by which a widow is taken as the wife of the younger brother of her late husband. This type of this old-world custom should not be confused with the similarly-named one prevalent among the Jews, the object of which was to provide a son for the deceased. Hindu Law Books refer to the practice called *NIYOGA* which, as a rule, was permitted only where the widow was childless, with the object of providing a son for the first husband. Manu expressly states that cohabitation should cease as soon as one or, at most, two sons have been begotten. But this idea of raising offspring for the deceased is entirely absent, so far as can be gathered, from the only known instance in which (in the State) the younger brother is required to marry the elder brother's widow. This occurs among the Banjaras. According to the custom prevalent in this caste, the younger brother of the deceased husband is considered the most eligible person to marry a widow. This rule is carried so far as to sanction the marriage of a widow with a boy of tender years with liberty to live with another person as substitute till he attains the proper age. She then rejoins him bringing with her any children she may have meanwhile borne. Of late, however, this custom is being discredited and a stranger is preferred to a brother-in-law who is not of proper age. In such cases, the *tāli* tied by the deceased husband with the bride-price paid for her at the time of the second marriage goes to the younger brother. When a widow marries her husband's younger brother no fresh bride-price is paid, which seems to indicate that the widow belongs not merely to her dead husband but also to her husband's family. This is in accordance with Gautama's well-known text "People say the woman belongs to the husband's family, not to the husband alone." In this caste, it is further stated that, formerly, when a husband became unfit either by old age or impotency, his younger brother could marry her as if she were a widow but this practice has entirely disappeared now. The only other caste in which there are indications of the existence at one time of this type of levirate is the Handi Jogis. Among these though it is unusual for a widow to marry her late husband's younger brother, the caste does not object to his keeping her as his concubine. In such a case, the *liaison* is overlooked and the issue is freely admitted as members of the caste. The evidence, scanty as it is, confirms the conclusion of Sir Edward Gait that, while the custom may sometimes have originated with the object of raising up seed to the deceased husband, it did not always do so. More often it seems to be a survival of fraternal polyandry, or at least of a state of society

where the woman was regarded as a chattel bought with a price and at the disposal of her husband's heirs.

Form of Remarriage.

When a widow marries her late husband's younger brother, as among the Banjaras, there is hardly any ceremony excepting that the new husband has to supply to his caste fellowmen betel and nut and provide for them a drink. In other cases, there is a kind of maimed ceremony that is usually performed on the occasion. This is known among most castes as *Kudike* (or commingling) as opposed to the *Maduve* (or marriage) in the case of a virgin bride. Sometimes it is called *Sirudike* or the commingling preceded by the present of a new cloth to the widow by her new husband. Married women cannot take part in it, nor could the remarried woman make herself visible to any married women for three days after her wedding. Nor can they ever take part in the celebration of virgin marriages and other auspicious occasions. The marriage takes place usually during the dark fortnight, on a day fixed after sunset and often after darkness has set in, in the presence of the assembled castemen. The bride usually bathes, puts on the new cloth given by the new husband, who ties the *tāli* to her after paying the bride-price usual in the caste. The usual caste dinner follows. Among some castes the ceremony is somewhat more elaborate, as among the Madigas but the essential portion of the ceremony is the same. Among the Vaddas the *tāli* (a string of black beads in this caste) is tied either by the new husband or by one of the widows present. Among the Dombars, the cloth presented must be white in colour. Among the Sanyasis the *tāli* is a string of Rudrakshi (*Eleocarpus Ganitras*) beads tied by the husband. Among the Īdigas, in some places, the *tāli* is tied by the maternal uncle of the new husband or the headman of the caste.

A peculiar form of the ceremony is prevalent among the Agasas of Davangere and near about. The man after being bathed and dressed in new cloths is seated in a dark room, before the caste people assembled. The widow about to be remarried, similarly bathed and dressed, is conducted to that room, arriving at which she knocks at the door. The man inside asks her who she is and what she has come therefor, the woman replies that she has come to light a lamp in the room. The headman and other caste people then give permission to the man to tie *tāli* after which betel and nuts are distributed and the ceremony closes with a dinner.

(*To be continued.*)

MANDALAPURUSHA AND HIS AGE.*

BY PANDIT M. RAGHAVA IYENGAR.

OF the three great Nighandus in Tamil Literature, namely Thivakaram, Pingalanthai and Cudamani, it is well-known that the Cudamani is the latest and most modern. All that is known about its author is that he is one named Mandalapurushar and that he is a native of Veerapuram or Veerai or Perumandur in Thondaimandalam† and that he lived during the flourishing reign of a Krishnaroya‡ who was also his patron; and did compile this laborious work at the instance of his preceptor and guru Gunabhadra who was the Maecenas of poets in his time and who was also well versed in Tamil Literature and Astrology and was the occupant of the Jain religious *pīth* at Thirunarunkunrai (திருநறுங்குன்றை) in the Tirukkoyilur Taluk. The work of this author has been called Nighandu Cudamani (or the crown gem of Nighandus) and hence the name Cudamani given in later times to the production as a whole§. The author is obviously a Jain.

When did this celebrated author flourish? Mr. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar of Tanjore in a very learned essay he has contributed to a monthly called 'Tamilakam', that was published from the same place, attempts to assign A.D. 898 as the age when this Mandalapurushar must have presumably lived‖. For arriving at this conclusion he has taken the couplet:

"திருந்திய கமலவூர்தி திருப்புகழ்ப் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்
பரந்தசீர்க் குணபத்ரன்றாள் பணிந்தமண்டலவன்றானே"

and the words 'திருப்புகழ்ப் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்' occurring therein as refering to the achievements of Gunabhadra and concludes it must be the well-known Gunabhadra who had undertaken and finished the latter portion of Mahapurana in Sanskrit in 898 A.D. and was the contemporary of a Rashtrakuta king named Krishna Raja II, whose name entirely coincides with the name of the monarch also mentioned to be the contemporary of the author of Cudamani. And if as is common with all historical writers from this analogy of

---

* Translated by R. Seshadri, B.A., B.L.

† See Thondaimandala Sathakam Verse—"நிகண்டு சூடாமணி தானுரைத்த மண்டலவன் குடிகொண்டது நீ டொண்டைமண்டலமே".

‡ "கெடிமன்னர் மணங்குந் தாளான் கிருட்டிண ராயன் கைபோற்—கொடை மடமென்ப தம்மவரையாது கொடுத்தலாமே"

§ "மன்னிய நிகண்டு சூடாமணியென வொன்றுரைப்பன்" See the Introductory chapter of Cudamani. See also the verse in the preceding foot-note 1.

‖ Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar adopts the above view of Mr. Kuppuswami Sastriar; see Mythic Society Journal, Vol. V, 1914-1915, pp. 36, 37.

names he concludes that the author of the Cudamani must have lived in 898 A.D. it is only natural, and what all we could suggest for and against the probabilities of this theory is whether it is being confirmed in the light of other independent materials that we have got, both external, and internal from the works of the author himself by which we could be justified in assigning so early a date as the 9th Century A.D.

First taking the introductory chapter of the Cudamani we find the author in the first three stanzas beginning with "சொல்லொடு பொருளுணர்ந்தோன்" and ending with "செகமெனும் பளிங்கு" speaking about the achievements of his preceptor and patron, and then only in the fourth stanza that deals about himself he says "திருப்புகழ்ப் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்...........குணபத்ரன்றாள்பணிந்த மண்டலவன்றானே" in the couplet already cited. The question therefore arises whether this particular distinction of having compiled the Thiruppugaḷpuranam goes to the credit of Gunabhadra or Mandalapurusha, his disciple. No doubt the words "திருப்புகழ்ப் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்" are placed in such a position that they might either qualify Gunabhadra or Mandalava. But if we look to the fact that in the three preceding stanzas the author seeks to give a complete account of the achievements of his religious preceptor and only in the fourth where speaking about himself he gives out this achievement :—What is the natural inference? Would we not infer that the authorship of Thiruppugaḷ-puranam is mentioned to the credit of Mandalava rather than to that of his Acharya. And what is more natural than this explanation since, if the author has sought to have given it to the credit of his Guru, he would have mentioned it in the first three stanzas which would give no cause for doubt and not in the fourth where he speaks only about himself and where the words referring to such a great achievement on the part of his patron and preceptor would give rise to a duplicate meaning and would itself cause a probable suspicion in the minds of his preceptor and everyone who reads the introduction that the author sought the benefit of the wording either to refer to his Guru or by implication refer to himself. The author in order to obviate all these difficulties might have naturally mentioned this incident in the preceding three stanzas and could well have done so. And again look at the construction of the lines. If, "திருப்புகழ் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்" qualifies Gunabhadra and all the achievements refer only to the preceptor, it will be easily seen that a mere "குணபத்ரன்றாள்பணிந்த மண்டலவன்றானே", leaves us wondering who this Mandalava is, and under the circumstances it would be only natural to expect that the author intended to give an identification about his person by saying "திருப்புகழ்ப் புராணஞ் செய்தோன்" மண்டலவன்றானே." So Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminath Iyer Avargal to whom the Tamil world owes a deep debt of gratitude for resuscitating the ancient classics writes in his first

edition of Manimekalai thus:— "This author (of Cudamani) is a Jain and a native of Veerapuram or Perumandur and *had compiled the Purana of Arhadeva* and his name is *Mandalapurusha*".

So it will be clearly seen that the natural explanation of the passage as it stands without an undue straining of meaning would suggest to any casual reader that the achievements mentioned of the compilation of the Thiruppugaḻpuranam would only go to the credit of Mandalapurusha and not to that of Gunabhadra. Further it should be noted that the author who compiled the Uttaramahāpurana is a Northerner and a person well-versed in Sanskrit, whereas Gunabhadra, the Acharya of the author of the Cudamani s a native of Thirunarunkunrai and well-versed only in the Tamil language. So how could both be identical?

Let us examine again the same question from a different standpoint. If we look from the internal evidence furnished by the 'Cudamani' itself we will come to the conclusion that its author could never have lived so early as the 9th Century A.D. The following illustrations would clearly confirm the above hypothesis:—

(1) Both the anterior Nighandhus, Thivakaram and Pingalanthai mention the three Tamil kings and also Chalukyas.* If Mandalava is also the author of such early times it is natural to expect that he would have made mention of the Chalukyas. Even if it is urged for purposes of argument that because the Chalukyas were the enemies of the Rashtrakuta king who patronized him and his preceptor, he did not mention them, it is only natural to expect he would have mentioned at least the Rashtrakuta kings. In this connection, it should be noted that, though a Jain, the author enumerates with due deference the other Gods of the orthodox Vedic religion and it would be only disparaging the impartiality of so great a scholar as Mandalava to say that he showed his likes and dislikes in compiling such a monumental work as the 'Cudamani'. And the wonder grows stronger when we find not only no mention is made of the Chalukyas but also that Mandalava,—and this is most startling—seems to be quite unaware that there were kings known as Chalukyas who were once a mighty power in Southern India.

Thus where "*கேழல் வேள்புல வரசர் கொடியே*" in Dhivagaram meaning thereby 'The Chalukyas have the flag occurs with the figure of a Boar', Mandalava not being able to make out the meaning of the term "*வேள்புல வரசர்*" makes it out to be '*வேழம்புலவர்*' and we find him transcribe the above verse as '*பன்னிய கேழல்வேழப் பதாகையும் புலவருக்கே*' meaning thereby 'The

---

* 'வேள்புல வரசர்களுக்கு வேந்தர்' (திவா–பிங்) 'கேழல் வேள்புலவரசர் கொடியே' (திவா) 'தார காரியுஞ்சளுக்கியர் வேந்தனும்–வேனி லாளனும் வேளெனலாகும் (பிங்)

boar and the elephant figures are inscribed in the flags of poets' in his Cudamani, where he got such curious information about the figures in the flag of poets is impossible to be traced and there is no authority whatever for the statement above made by the author. The author under mistake must have read the lines 'கெழல வெளபுல வாசா கொடியே' occurring in the cadjan leaves, as 'கேழல்வேள (ழ)ம் புலவர்கொடியே' and this is all the explanation that we could offer as to how he made the mistake. Anyhow it is not easy to account for this mistake on the part of so great a scholar like Mandalava and the natural explanation would be he lived at an age long posterior to the age of the Chalukyas when such a name was itself forgotten.

(2) The word 'காரிகை' according to Dhivakaram and Pingalanthai means beauty, woman and *kattalaikalithurai* (அழகு, பெண், கட்டளைக் கலித்துறை) but the author of the Cudamani also says it is a literary work. This is a clear reference to *Yapparunakalakkarikai* of *Amitasakarar* and it is shown from this that Mandalava lived only after the above work had attained recognition in literary circles. There are ample reasons that confirm Amitasakarar could not have lived before the 10th century of the Christian era.

(3) In the 12th chapter of Cudamani enumerating 'அட்டகணிதங்கள்' Mandalapurusha mentions *Bhaskaram* (பாற்கரம்) and this (presumably) refers to the work of *Bhaskaracharya* who had published his work (entitled Surya Siddhanta) in A.D. 1150.* So Cudamani could not be anterior to the 12th Century A.D.

(4) In the 11th chapter of the Cudamani giving out the meaning of the word 'Soman' (சோமன்) whereas Dhivakaram and Pingalanthai say it means the moon (சந்திரன்), and one of the Vasus (அட்ட வசுக்களுள் ஒருவன்). Mandalava also mentions that it refers to a 'வள்ளல்' a munificent patron of literature. Since no mention is made of a person of this name in the Sangam works and in the earlier Nigandhus, it could be only concluded that he lived presumably posterior to those works. So in the 12th century A.D. when the Chola power was in the ascendant we learn that there was a nobleman of that name who was a great patron of Literature and was the chieftain of a place called 'Thiribuvanam'.† It is mentioned in Tamil *Navalar Charitai* that the great poet Ottakuthar when he was pursued by certain ruffians who had been set upon him‡ was forced to seek refuge in the house of this chieftain and

---

* The History of Indian Literature by Weber, pp. 262.

† This place is on the way between Kumbakonam and Thiruvendaimarudur.

‡ It is said that Ottakuthar was approached by his own castemen (செங்குந்தர்) Senkunthars of compose a poem praising their caste but as he refused to do so certain persons pursued him in revenge as being treacherous to his own people. (See Sen Tamil, Vol. II, p. 409.)

when his protector sought to learn the reason why he was so pursued he spoke in the following strain:—

> " அடையென்பார் தள்ளென்பா ரன்பொன் றிலாமற்
> புடையென்பார் தங்கடைக்கே போகோங்—கொடையென்றால்
> முந்துஞ்சோமாபுவனை முன்னவனே நின்கடைக்கீழ்
> வந்துஞ்சோ மாதலான் மற்று "

And the above incident finds confirmation in that Ottakuthar himself in his work called ' ஈட்டியெழுபது ', ' Ettiezhuppathu ' refers to this anecdote as " பூவார் புவனையிற் சோமன் றரும்பழி போனபின்பு ". Similarly we have got another anecdote about this chieftain in another place of Tamil *Navalar Charitai* *. The great Chola is said also in that work to have praised this nobleman's munificence † and a later poet too refers in feeling terms to the greatness of this chieftain. ‡ Thus it will be evident that this nobleman's name has been familiar to literary students and it is possibly to this chieftain that Mandalapurusha refers, when he says " சோமனோர்வள்ளலிந்து ". Therefore it is clear that his age could not be anterior to the 12th century A. D.

5. Finally taking the words that are scattered in the Cudamani itself we find them to be so modern that to attribute them so early a date as the 9th century A. D. would be utterly impossible and incredible. And thus we find § தாளம்போதெல் (9-54) (அருந்தல்-அருமை 11-202) in the sense of rareness; கெடிமன்னர்-பிரசித்திபெற்ற, சீமையாளும் அரசர் (பாயி) (in the sense of renowned kings or kings who rule the realm); and (ஒற்றித்தல்-ஒற்றையாக்குதல் (12-2) and arrack ‖ (அரக்கு-ஒருவகைக்கள் 11-37.) Again the Sanskrit names are mentioned in the Cudamani in the form in which they are found in that language as குணபத்ரன் (பாயி-6), சரச்வதி (12-74), பாஞ்சராத்ரம் (12-59) மாகேச்வரி, மாகேந்தரி (12-67). This mode, it is certainly impossible to find in earlier literature and this shows clearly the modernness of the author.

The question now arises if Mandalava must have lived only posterior to

---

* This is that when once this chieftain went to get an audience of the Chola monarch he met Ottakuthar coming from the palace and then he inquired of him whether the king could be seen at the time for which the poet is said to have replied in the sense that what the king was doing at the time was praising his most noble virtues.

> " தன்னுடைய தேவியர்க்குத் தார்வளவன் றனுரைப்ப
> துன்னுடைய சீர்த்தி யுயர்நலமே—துன்னுபுகழ்ச்
> சோமா திரிபுவனத் தோன்றலே நின்புகழை
> யாமா றுரைக்க வினி "

† " துவலையிலங்கிய கொடைச் சோமன்வாழ் புவனையில் " (தமிழ்நா—தை—175).

‡ பழகு " தமிழ்ச்—சொல்லருமை நாலிரண்டிற் சோமன் கொடையருமை – புல்லரிடத் தேயறிமின் போய் "

§ [போகடுதல்] is the old form.

‖ The word arrack is however derived from foreign sources.

the 12th century A. D., in what other era could he have lived when there was a Krishnaroya and a Gunabhadra.

The answer is simple. We know that Krishnadevaroya reigned between 1509-1530 and it is well-known that this monarch ruled not only the Andhradesa but was also the overlord of the Tamil country. Though himself a Telugu and his ancestry is Kanarese, he seems to have patronized several Tamil scholars and poets as well.* The author of the Cudamani might have very probably lived in his reign. But then what about the Gunabhadrachariar who is mentioned as the preceptor of Mandalava. In the Madras Manuscript Library I recently came across a cadjan copy styled Yathidarma Sravakadharmam and the work, it seems, is written by a Jain author dealing as it does with the history and traditions of the Jain community in the southern country. The work is no doubt modern but the following quotation in it is worthy of note: "ராயர் சந்ததிகளில் விஷ்ணதேவராயர் அதிகாரத்தில் குணபத்ராசாரியர் நாளையில் அர்ச்சகத்தொழில் செய்யா நின்ற இந்த ஜைநப் பிராமணர்கள்" "These Jain Brahmins doing Archaka service during the reign of Vishnadevaroya of the Royar dynasty at the time of Gunabhadracharya". †

The reference is to certain reforms carried out by this Gunabhadracharya which is said to have taken place at "சித்தாமூர்" Chittamur, in the Thindivanam Taluk. So it is evident that this must be the Gunabhadrachariar who is also mentioned to be a contemporary of Mandalava. But the reigning soverign is said to be a *Vishnadevaroya*. We find no such sovereign in the dynasty of Vizianagar and since the proper form of the name if it should be otherwise is Vishnudevaroya, we might take this inferentially to be a slip more due to the scribe than the author himself committed when transcribing the name 'Krishnadevaroya'. Anyhow the hypothesis of Kuppuswami Sastriar that Mandalapurusha must have lived in the 9th century A.D. could not be supported in the light of the above arguments and the latter date *i.e.*, "the 16th century might probably be the date of the author of the Cudamani since the writer himself from his Nighandu seems to be most modern.

This disposes of the date of Mandalapurusha. We already referred that the above author must have also compiled the Thiruppugazhpuranam. 'Thiru'

---

* He is sung by Tamil bards and poets like Kumārasarasvati (223), (குமாரசரசுவதி), Thathvaprakāsar (225), (தத்துவப்பிரகாசர்) Nagaraśanambi (நாகரசநம்பி) (189), etc., as shall be seen from Tamil Navalar Charitai, (தமிழ் நாவலர் சரிதை), and Thondaimandala Chatakam (40) (தொண்டைமண்டலசதகம்). They call him therein 'Krishnaroya, Krishnabhūpāla, and Krishnaroyan.

† The original mentions in one place that the age of this Vizianagaram monarch is circa 1200 of the Kali era and in another says it is about 500 years before. The author is apparently mistaken as to the date of the monarch he mentions.

is an honorific affix equivalent to 'ஸ்ரீ' in Sanskrit which we find commonly used by Jains as Thirukkalambakam (திருக்கலம்பகம்), Thirunurranthathi, (திருநூற்றந்தாதி and திருவறம் (7-66), etc. And the Puranam that Mandalava is said to have compiled most probably is the Sripuranam that is now extant which is written in a Manipravala style and treats about the lives of the Thiruthankaras. There is also one other work that is attributed to the same author. There is a work on astrology called 'சூடாமணியுள்ளமுடையான்' Cudamani Ullamudaiyan and it is wrongly attributed to Mandala merely because the name Cudamani is found to be the common feature, of the Nighandu of the author and the astrological work. But the last stanza of the 'உள்ளமுடையான்' Ullamudaiyan reveals the whole secret and from that stanza it would be clear that its author is a different personage who is called திருக்கோட்டி நம்பி (Thirukotti Nambi).

VARIETIES OF BRAHMANISM.

(By T. A. Seshagiri Ayyar, B.A., B.L., M.L.A.)

In this article, I propose, primarily, to state facts which came to my knowledge during the last year and a half: It is hardly possible to avoid stating conclusions here and there. My aim is only to stimulate enquiry.

To one accustomed to life in Madras, the manner of living and the modes of thought that influence people in other parts of India may appear puzzling to some extent: In Madras the Brahmin is at once the privileged man and the most abused; about him, I shall reserve my remarks to the end. In other parts of India he has neither the halo that surrounds him in the South, nor the brand which scorches him to the marrow.

I shall take Cashmere first: Its rivers are hallowed in our Vedas: The Rig Veda speaks of the Vitasta which now goes by the name of Jhelum. The Sutlej which commingles with this river is Satadru of the Rig Veda: There are other landmarks in this beautiful valley which mark it out as one of the earliest abodes of the Aryan race. The Brahmin or the Pandit as he is called there I would almost put among the depressed classes: It may be due to the treatment he was subjected to during the Mahomedan period: that he is an outcast in his own land is clear. Many a Kashmiri Brahmin has migrated to other parts of India—notably the United Provinces and the Punjab—and have risen above his fellows: but the Kashmiri Brahmin of the valley—the man who is native of the soil—is nowhere in the race of life; one peculiarity is that caste distinctions which are so predominant in the South are not observed in the happy valley. The Brahmin is the pandit, the tiller of the soil, the jamadar, the hardworking menial and the pest that inhabits sacred places to fleece pilgrims. I came out of Cashmere with the conviction that the mark of superiority is not on the brow of the descendant of the rishis of old in this land.

In the Punjab, the abode for a considerable period of the Aryan race, he is no better: The degeneration probably is of recent origin. In the days when Sikhism was being preached as a new revelation, the Brahmin was still to the fore; when Gurudwars in which the sacred Granths are worshipped were established in the early days, the Sikhs had to place at the head of these shrines learned Brahmin pandits as the Sikhs were not advanced in learning sufficiently to take charge of them. The exposition of the religious literature of the Sikhs was entrusted to these priests. The Mahants as they were called transmitted the headship as it pleased them best; and the result of it we see in the bitter struggle that is now going on between the Akalis and the Mahants: These Akalis, who may not inaptly be styled "protestant" Sikhs, have risen in arms against what they allege to be irreligion and immorality in the head priests of the various sacred places founded and

endowed by Sikhs. I am not entering into the merits of the controversy, but the reform movement owes its strength and vitality to the superior learning of the modern-day Sikh; whereas it is acknowledged on all hands that the priestly class among the Hindus has visibly degenerated. I found in Hurdwar a Sikh sadhu discoursing religion to Hindu disciples. I made enquiries and learnt that it is the commonest thing now-a-days for Hindus to sit at the feet of Sikh Gurus: there has thus been a phenomenal reversal of the position. The Punjabi Brahmin—of course there are notable exceptions and I am only speaking of the class as a whole—is often to be found as chaprasis (peons) in many public offices: He is the *Mundu* (menial servant) in various private households. He ploughs and sows: there are, of course, a few who carry on the priestly profession. They are an infinitesimally small number who are employed as officials. But the vast majority of them toil and spin and are neither sought after nor abused: Swami Dayanand Sarasvati has created a new hierarchy: undoubtedly he has stirred to the depth the easy going Hindu. It is no wonder that the Brahmin of the old type is opposed to this reform movement. It may be that, in course of time, a tolerant and reasonable Brahminism of the purely Vedic type may emerge in the Punjab.

In Behar and the United Provinces, the Brahmin is occupying a slightly better position. I had an illuminating talk with a member of the Behar Legislative Council the other day; what he said was an eye-opener to me: intellectually the Brahmin is not in the forefront in these areas: He is a great deal more religious than his compeers in the Punjab: he is perhaps more ceremonial, but in the villages he is the actual cultivator of the soil. It would appear that he should not actually hold the plough. That is prohibited, but he uses his spade: he sows, reaps the corn and does all works of husbandry which the Madras Brahmin disdains to do: the Kayasthas of these parts are more intellectual than he: I asked my friend about the mantras connected with his daily ablutions. I found that they were simpler and closer to Vedic texts. The South India Brahmin has mixed up a good deal of the Puranic literature in his invocations. For example, the invocation to Ganesa at the beginning of the morning and evening ablutions finds no place in the Biharee's creed: The Achamayan with the recital of the twelve names of Vishnu is not practised: Otherwise the essential incantations to the sun, the purificatory texts relating to the sprinkling of water, etc., are the same as we find in the South. I learnt from this friend that the practice of personifying two or three purohits and of feeding them during Sradhs is not observed in these parts. The spirit of the dead is invoked in a Kurcha and that is all. In many other respects, I found that we in the South have elaborated and made complex the simplest Vedic rites.

In Bengal, the Brahmin has gone up a step higher. But he has not monopolized learning as in Madras. The Kayasthas are as well placed as the Brahmins. The Kulin Brahmin had at one time a splendid field all to himself in the matrimonial market, but the situation has changed. They are believed to be the descendants of the five priests who were invited to Bengal by an ancient sovereign,

Adisur. It is curious that on the High Court Bench the Brahminical element is stronger, although in the Bar and in other professions there is not the same proportion. Even on the bench there have been Kayasthas of undoubted eminence. Dwarkanath Mitter, Romesh Chunder Mitter, Chunder Madhab Ghose are names worth remembering. Gurudas Banerjee, Ashutosh Chaudhury, Ashutosh Mukerjee belong to the Brahmin class. Among the lawyers Rashbehari Ghose, Monmohan Ghose, Anandamohan Bose, Lalmohan Ghose, Lord Sinha, Sir Benode Chandra Mitter all come from the Kayasthas. Rammohan Roy, Issur Chandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Debendra Nath Tagore were Brahmins, and among living men Rabindranath Tagore is the shining light of the Brahmins. Bose and Roy, the great scientists, are not Brahmins. It would appear that the position which the Kayasthas are occupying in Bengal and Behar is due to the fact that, when the British settled there, they were the earliest to act as interpreters and to get themselves employed under the new masters. But even in Madras, the earliest Dubashes were all non-Brahmins and yet they do not seem to have worked their way up.

In Bombay, in most districts, the Brahmin holds no commanding position. This is largely due to the commercial instinct of the people of the Presidency. Employment in the learned professions is not much of an inducement to the Bania or the Bhattia; and it is they that control and guide public opinion in the Presidency. The position is different in the Maharashtra postion of it. The rule of the Peishwas and the respect which Sivaji paid to the priestly class created a new atmosphere. The Poona Sastri has come to the fore there and sought employment in public offices. He has created around him the same feeling of antagonism which dogs the footsteps of his brother in Madras.

Before leaving Bombay, I may advert for a moment to the status of Brahmins in the Kathewar States: The Marwaris, as we Madrasis call them, are of all classes: The Brahmins comprise five communities: they are strict vegetarians: Many of them—mostly those in the cities—have taken to trading: a few are pandits in schools and colleges and clerks in Government offices. Those that live in the villages plough, sow and reap as any other class of people does. Their religion is a little more ceremonial than that of the United Provinces or of Behar.

As regards food, we have the Kashmiri Brahmin who is partial to goat's flesh. I wonder whether it is his influence that induced the ruler of that State to prohibit cow-killing within bis territories or whether he considers it his misfortune that the Maharaja has promulgated such an ordinance: We have the Bengalee who considers fishes to be fruits of the sea and that, as such, they come under the category of vegetables: In South Canara we have the same variety of the priestly classes. In the majority of cases, vegetarianism is the rule. Of course, I am not speaking of the cosmopolitan Brahmin whose religion depends on his palate and not on shastraic injunctions: was vegetarian diet the traditional one? Or was it due to the wholesome influence of Jainism? Some verses in the Ramayana and some riks in the Vedas may be regarded as lending colour to the belief that Brahmins

were flesh-eaters. Swami Dayanand Sarasvati has been at pains to show that such an interpretation of Vedic texts is wholly opposed to their spirit and letter.

Now for Madras: there are varieties. The Nambudri of Malabar stands on a pedestal of his own. He is the most intolerant of his sect. His treatment of the other classes has thrown thousands into the fold of other religions. As compared with him, the Tanjore Brahmin is nowhere in caste arrogance. Go north and examine the Telugu Brahmin. His acharam is unacceptable to the Brahmin of the Cauvery Delta and of Madura and Tinnevelly: the Niyogi with his whiskers does not come up to the right standard of spiritualism. If we go to South Canara, fish-eating at least is not *taboo* to the Brahmin there, althoug it is not universal. The Brahmin of the southern districts is a different being. Intellectually he has established a record for proficiency in higher learning which is unequalled anywhere. He is not as intolerant as the Nambudri, but his is only a degree less. His aptitude for work is marvellous. Go to any part of India, you will hear that he is the best hack that you can get for the money. His Bible is not the Vedas so much as the Achara Kandam of Vythinadha Dikshitar. There is no doubt that he has been the top dog in Government service for a considerable time. Was it his fault? Was it good luck or was it his misfortune? I incline to the belief that it is the latter. He has created enemies and allowed his brain to move in a groove. The wakening has come—what his future will be, it is difficult to foretell.

One essential feature should not be lost sight of. "Don't touchyism" of the aggressive type is not in evidence beyond the limits of the Madras Presidency. My Behar friend told me that the Purohit who officiates in a non-Brahmin house is not in any way looked down upon. He and the other Brahmins can eat in non-Brahmin houses, sweets and chapatis; only boiled articles, dole are not permitted to be taken. Naturally there is greater comradeship between the classes and less friction. There is no objection to the highest and the lowest classes drawing water from the same wells; and in most cases worship in the temple is open to all. I was in Bombay on a Mahasivaratri day and I found men and women of the lowest walks of life rubbing shoulders literally with the highest within the precincts of the Siva temple. The Namasudras and the Mahars, I understand, suffer from some disadvantages, but their disabilities bear no proportion to what their brethren undergo in the South.

The problem is worth investigation why the South Indian Brahmin has developed a code of social life so different from what obtains elsewhere. Is it because the settlers in these parts were a handful and endeavoured to preserve their identity by exclusiveness and aloofness? There is something to be said in favour of this theory. If one scans carefully the mantras recited in Gaya in offering Pindas to the far-off ancestors, he will notice that there is a feeling of lament over those who have migrated to far-off places. At any rate, that is my reading of some of the recitations. Probably a few adventurous spirits—not encumbered with women—left their homes in the north to explore richer fields down below and ultimately settled themselves away from friends and relations. It may also be that, in

the South, the Aryan came into contact with people more civilized than those whom he encountered in the North. Here again the desire to preserve the ancient traditions might have been a powerful factor in avoiding closer touch and in not assuming a spirit of easy familiarity. Romesh Chunder Dutt seems to suggest that there is a lighter streak of Aryan blood in South India than elsewhere. He seems to hint at a mixed parentage for the Brahmin of the Madras Presidency. That may partly account for the Brahmin's assumption of surperiority. If the zeal of the convert is proverbial, the anxiety of the hybrid to be regarded as of pure blood is not an unheard-of theory. I hope I am not rubbing my brethren too severely the wrong way. After all, from the point of view of our ancient law-givers the offspring of such mixed marriages had as much right to Brahminhood as children of the purer type. On the other hand, it may be that the northern Brahmin lost much of his spirituality, because of his frequent submission to rulers of different faiths and of different civilizations: in the south, there was not the same experience. The civilization he came in contact with did here not upset his life; and it does not appear that the faith of the earlier settlers of the south of India was antagonistic to the Vedic religion. These facts would account for the purer type of Brahminism that is believed to exist in the Madras Presidency.

Again to whom do we owe the composition of the Puranas? Vyasa is credited with the authorship. Where did he live? If it is not sacrilegious to doubt the theory of the compiler of the Vedas having compiled the Puranas as well, it is open to argument that most of these must have been of South Indian origin. The finest and subtlest religious philosophies came from Madras. Did the Pseudo-Vyasas also hail from the banks of Godavary, Kistna and Cauvery? We are so much Puranic ridden that it is not unlikely that my surmise has some foundation.

I am not afraid to be criticised. I dare say my theories are crude and lack perspicacity and a true grasp of history or tradition. I confess to a feeling of considerable doubt in my own views, but I give expression to them solely with the intention of eliciting discussion.

The summary of my experiences is that, except in Madras and in the Maharashtra country, the Brahmin exercises no commanding influence in the councils of the Empire or in moulding the ideas of the people. I would like this sketch to be followed up by some one who can trace the history of the movement and accurately investigate the causes that have led to the difference in the outlook which are so marked in the career of the Brahmin from one end of the Peninsula to the other.

JAINA TEACHERS AND THEIR CONTEMPORARY KINGS. (PRABHAVIKA CHARITA)

(EXTRACTED BY DR. R. SHAMA SHASTRY, M.A., PH.D.)

(1) The Era of Vikramaditya and the Dynasty of Gardabhilas and of Murundas.*

THE importance of the Puranas as a source of information at least on the list of successive dynasties of kings that ruled over various parts of India is admitted on all hands. Accordingly, relying upon the Puranas historians of India presumed that the Sunga, Kanva and Andhra dynasties successively came one after another and ruled over a great part of Northern India from Pataliputra, their capital in Magadha. But it is a mistake to take them to be successive dynasties and there is evidence to prove that some of those dynasties were more or less contemporaries either beginning earlier or lasting longer than those dynasties which they are supposed to have succeeded. If we were to rely on the accuracy of the Puranas at least so far as the succession of dynasties is concerned, we should be led to believe what the Puranas say regarding the dynasties that succeeded the Andhras. Concerning these dynasties, the Vishnu Purana says as follows:—

"After these, various races will reign as seven Abhiras, ten Gardabhilas, sixteen Sakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tusharas, thirteen Murundas (Murundas-Vayu), eleven Maunas (Hunas-Vayu), altogether seventy-nine princes who will be sovereigns of the earth for 1399 years."

From this one would be led to believe that the Andhras were succeeded by seven Abhira kings who in their turn were succeeded by ten Gardabhilas and others. But there is evidence to prove that this Puranic statement is entirely wrong and that both the Gardabhilas and the Murundas were both contemporary to the Andhras. This evidence is furnished by the Prabhavikacharita or the Life of Jaina Saints, composed by Pradyumnasuri in Samvat (Vedanala sikhi sasi dhara varaha) 1334-1378 A.D. printed by the Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, and published by B. R. Ghanekar in 1900. There is, however, a mistake on the title page of this book. It is not the work of Chandraprabhasuri, as stated on the title page, but rather the work of Pradyumnasuri, as clearly stated in a verse repeated at the close of every chapter of the work. From the fourth chapter entitled Kalakasuriprabandha of this work, it will be clear that the dynasty of the Gardabhilas was contemporary to the Andhras and that, while Satavahana of the Andhras was ruling in Pratishthana and Murunda in Pataliputra, one of the Gardabhilas, called Gardabhila, was ruling in Ujjayini in Malava. It will also be noticed that, after Gardabhila was slain by the Sakas, Ujjayini passed into the hands of the Sakas and that king

* This section only was published by Dr. R. Shama Shastry in the *Hindu* in May 1922.—ED., Q. J. M. S.

Vikrama drove out the Sakas from Ujjayini and established his own dynasty there, celebrating his victory by starting an era after his own name. Again in the eighth chapter entitled Vriddhavadi-prabandha the author speaks of Vikramaditya as being the contemporary of king Balamitra and of the interest which king Vikrama took in the religion of the Jainas. He says that the dynasty of king Vikrama lasted only for 135 years and was destroyed by the Sakas, his enemies and that they celebrated their victory by starting another era after their own name. Whether reliance can be placed upon this assertion is a question which I leave to scholars for decision. The nature of the event described in the life of Kalakacharya appears to me to be true and inclines me to believe that the author has recorded a genuine tradition. A brief summary of the story is as follows :—

There was a city called Sridharavasa. There lived a king called Virasimha who was very powerful. His wife was called Surasundari. He had a son called Kalaka and a daughter Sarasvati. Once Kalaka went out of the city riding on a horse and exercised the horse by various movements. When he and the horse were tired he sat taking rest and heard the noise of speaking in the midst of a forest not far from his resting place. He ordered his minister to ascertain whose speech it was. Having found it out, the minister returned and said that Gunakara, a Jaina teacher, was preaching there. The prince went there and listened to Gunakara's lecture on the ethics and philosophy of the Jainas. Impressed by his lecture, the prince, permitted by his parents, embraced Jainism and became an ascetic, together with his sister. On the death of Gunakara, Kalaka took his place and began preaching.

Once he went to Ujjayini. At that time the king of Ujjayini was Gardabhila and he happened to be outside the capital (?) when Kalaka with his sister was there. Struck with the beauty of Sarasvati, the sister of Kalaka, Gardabhila carried her off. On hearing this through the Jaina nuns who accompanied him, Kalaka went to the Court of Gardabhila and spoke thus :—

"O Saivait king, it is true that we have formed a fence round our Kachha to protect its fruits. But when in spite of your being regarded as the protector of the religions of all castes, you yourself carry off and eat fruits, whom shall we complain to?"

When the king paid no attention to his appeal, Kalaka in virtue of the Kshatriya blood flowing in his veins took an oath that, if he were not to slay the king, his wives and sons, relations and all, he would be guilty of the terrible sin of the slaughter of humanity. When he expressed his determination before the king and the public he was taken for a lunatic. Feeling for his sister, he left for the countries of the Saknins, *i.e.*, Sakas, on the banks of the Indus. There were ninety-six Saka States; at their head there was a Mandalika with an army of 700,000 horses. Kalakasuri sought an interview with the Saka chief and on being admitted into his Court, he requested his help against Gardabhila. The Saka chief consented and sent out his 96 feudal chiefs to rescue Kalaka's sister. They all arrived at the vicinity of Ujjayini, the capital town of Gardabhila, and captured him alive. At the

request of Kalaka he was however let out and banished. The country was divided among the conquerors. Sarasvati was released and taken among the nuns.

Sometime after this event Vikramaditya drove the Sakas out of Ujjayini and made himself the king of the country and started an era after his own name. Then again one hundred and thirty-five years after Vikramaditya, the Sakas destroyed the dynasty of Vikrama and started an era after their own name.

After the banishment of Gardabhila, Kalaka went to Balamitra, the king of Bhrigukachha. Balamitra's brother was called Bhanumitra and his sister Bhanusri. They were the son and daughter of his paternal aunt.

Having arrived at the court of Balamitra, Kalaka conquered his chief priest in religious dispute and converted the king, his priest and his subjects to Jainism. Having spent the rainy season there, he went to Pratishthana (Sthanesvar) which was then the capital of Satavahana. Satavahana himself was a Jaina. (B.C. 27?)

In Kosala there was a king called Vijayabrahma and there was also a merchant called Phulla with his wife called Pratima. Having no son, she went to Parsvanathachaitya and worshipped the image of Parsva. Parsva appeared before her and said that, if she wanted to have a son, she had to go to Vidyadharagachha and drink the water used to wash the feet of the teachers in the gachha where Kalakasuri once flourished. She did so. She then became pregnant and brought forth a son who was called Nagendra. When he became eight years old, he was initiated into the religion of the Jainas. He became an ascetic under Sangamasimhasuri. Mandana was appointed to teach him. When he was ten years old, he became the head of Kashapatta in the place of Sangasimha and became known as Padalipta.

There was then in Pataliputra a king called Murunda. After residing in the court of that king for some time, he went to Bhima, king of Lata. Then he left for the city of Manakheta ruled over by Krishna and then to Balamitra, king of Bhrigukachha.

There was in Pataliputra a king called *Dahada* (probably the father of Murunda). Dahada *was converted* to Jainism by Mahendra of Bhrigukachha. It is under this Guru that Padalipta learnt Jaina philosophy. Mahendra also converted Krishna of Manakheta to Jainism.

At this time there lived Nagarjuna, the celebrated alchemist. He was a Kshatriya by birth. His father was Sangrama and mother Suvrata. Padalipta converted him to Jainism. At the same time Satavahana was ruling in Pratishthana. While Balamitra with his son Dananjaya was ruling in Bhrigukachha, Satavahana invaded Bhrigukachha and Padalipta saved Balamitra from his attack.

The four Jaina teachers, namely, (1) Aryakhapata, (2) Rudradevasuri, (3) Mahendrasuri, and (4) Padalipta were successive and almost contemporary teachers about 484 after the Nirvana of Mahavira. In Bhrigupura there was a sacred place of pilgrimage for the Jainas. It was often destroyed by enemies and often restored. Among those who restored it one was Vikramaditya whose minister was Li[illegible]a.

In the seventh year of his era he set up a flag and a golden vessel in the Vira temple which he restored in Vapata.

6942
JL
Qr: 1m No9
N10.13

Siddhasena was Vikrama's teacher. Siddhasena was for some time the teacher of Devapala, king of Karmara nagara. Siddhasena helped Devapala in averting danger to his country by the attack of Vijayavarma, king of Kamarupa.

(The above history is an amplification of what was recorded in a prasasti dated 150 samvat in the Varshasrama matha on the top of Raivata mountain.)

(2) Haribhadrasuri.

Haribhadrasuri was a Brahmin priest of Jitari, king of Chitrakuta. He was converted to Jainism by Jinabhatasuri and was elevated to the position of Jaina teachers in Chitrakuta. Two of his sister's sons, Hamsa and Paramahamsa by name embraced Jainism and were studying under Haribhadra. Once permitted by Haribhadra, they went to Sugatapura to study the system of Buddhistic logic in the Buddhistic college. There was at that time in Sugatapura a great free-boarding school where students were provided with boarding and lodging. After having learnt the logic of the Buddhists, the two students applied the same logic in criticising the religion of the Buddhists. The principal of the college thought it better to expel all Jina students and circulated a notice that, while entering the college, every student should touch with his legs the image of Jina placed at the entrance for the purpose. The two students thought over this difficulty and substituting a Buddha image for that of Jina, they touched it with their feet. There was, however, some doubt whether it was really an image of Jina or of Buddha. The principal, however, made up his mind to murder them and apprehensive of danger, Hamsa and Paramahamsa left the college and began to run away. They were pursued and Paramahamsa was killed but Hamsa somehow or other escaped and took shelter under Surapala, king of Sugatapura. A few days after this he went to Chitrakuta and informed Haribhadrasuri of what had occurred. Haribhadra came to the Court of Surapala (840 A.D. ?) and conquered the Buddhists in religious disputes.

(3) Mallavadi.

In Bhrigukachha (Broach) there were a Buddhist professor Nanda, and a Jaina teacher Jinananda. The latter was defeated by the former in religious dispute and had to leave the place for Valabhi where his sister, Durlabhadevi, lived with her three sons, Jinayasas, Yaksha, and Malla. They all three became Jainas and studied logic. Having become an expert in logic Malla or Mallavadi, as he was called later, went to Bhrigukachha and defeated Nanda in dispute in the presence of All (?), the king of Broach.

(4) Bappabhatti.

In Patala, a town in Gurjara, there lived a Jaina teacher called Siddhasena. Once he went to Modhera, a city not far from Patala to worship the idol of Mahavira. There he met a boy six years old and asked him who he was and whence he came. He said "I am called Bappa, son of Bhatti, living in Panchala. Calling myself Surapala, I used to molest other boys whom I regarded as my enemies. My father was displeased with me and banished me. So I came here to take shelter under you." Accordingly he was taken into the monastery of the Jainas and was taught

Sanskrit. As a boy of extraordinary intellect, he learnt all that he was taught and became a learned man. His Jaina teachers had a great liking to convert him to Jainism and installed him as the head of their monastery. Accordingly they requested his father to make a gift of his son to the Jainas. He consented and accordingly Bappabhatti was installed with the name of Bhadrakirti in the monastery in Modhera in Samvat 807.

Once while walking outside the monastery Bhadrakirti was caught in rain and standing in a temple met a boy who came thither fully drenched. While talking with the boy, he was struck with his poetical talents in Sanskrit and took him to the monastery after the rain stopped. On being asked about his parentage, the boy said that he was the son of Yasovarma, king of Kanyākubja, a descendant of the illustrious Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty and that displeased with his father's chastisements, he came thither. He wrote on the surface of the ground that his name was "Âma". On further inquiry he said that while pregnant his mother was banished by Yasovarma and that she brought forth Âma in a Jaina monastery. When Âma's step-mother died, Yasovarma sent men in search for Âma's mother and she was taken in when found. But Âma himself came thither, leaving his mother to go back alone.

Âma stayed in the monastery of Modhera and was educated in all arts befitting his royal descent. While thus living with Bhadrakirti, *i.e.*, Bappabhatti in close intimacy, he promised that, in case of his inheriting his father's kingdom, he would make it over to Bappabhatti.

In the course of time his father fell ill and apprehensive of death sent his ministers to bring back Âma and crown him in the kingdom. Immediately after his coronation, Âma sent his army to Modhera to bring Bappabhatti to Kanyakubja. Permitted by Siddhasena, Bappabhatti came to Kanyakubja in Samvat 814 and resided in a beautiful building. Under Bhatti's advice, Âma built a number of Jaina monasteries and temples.

Once Bhatti went to the city of Lakshmanavati, the capital of king Dharma, descendant of Paramara dynasty, and succeeded in making Dharma and Âma friends to each other. Then at the invitation of king Dharma Âma went to Lakshmanavati and was given a magnificent royal reception. After staying a few days in the capital of Dharma, Âma returned to Kanuj.

Sometime after this Dharma wrote a letter to Âma inviting Âma and his minister Bappabhatti to the boundary of the two countries to conduct a religious discussion between Bappabhatti and Vardhana Kunjara, a Buddhist logician, betting his own kingdom to the winner.

The challenge was accepted and Vardhana Kunjara and Bappabhatti began to discuss the comparative merits of Buddhism and Jainism in the presence of Vākpatirāja, a learned scholar in the Court of Dharmarāja. The discussion went on for days and when king Âma was eager to attend to the affairs of his kingdom after closing the dispute, Bappabhatti succeeded in silencing Vardhana Kunjara with his powerful arguments in favour of Jainism. King Dharma was not however

deprived of his kingdom and was rather prevailed upon to retain it as before. Kunjaravardhana was converted to Jainism. Vākpatirāja who was once defeated in dispute by Vardhanakunjara went with Bappabhatti and living under the patronage of King Âma wrote two works, one Gaudabandha (Gaudavaho) in Prakrit and another Madravijaya in Sanskrit.

At the same time there lived in Hastijaya, a city in Gurjara, two Jaina scholars, Nannasuri and Govindasuri. Nannasuri had a mere literary interest in Vatsyayana's Kāmasūtra and wrote a commentary on it. Seeing this performance, the King of Khētakamandala suspected him of sensual tendency and had no respect for him. At the advice of Govindasuri, Nanna dramatised Mahavira's life and had it staged in the Court of Âma. Âma was very much pleased and invited those two scholars to come to Kanuj and live with him for some time. Accordingly they came to Kanuj and having lived there for some time they returned to Hastijaya.

King Âma was a Saivite and was addicted to sensual pleasures. Bappabhatti took steps to correct him and to convert him to Jainism, if possible. After listening to Bhatti's advice, Âma opened his eyes to the dissipation he was making of his life and asked his Court pandits whether they could suggest any atonement for the sin he has committed. They said that, in view of getting rid of the sin he committed by having intercourse with a Chandala prostitute, he should prepare an iron statue of her and embrace it when red hot. Bappabhatti protested against this kind of atonement and said that mental depravity can only be cured by mental control. Though the king said that he preferred Saivism, he was prevailed upon to embrace Jainism. Even Vākpatirāja was disgusted with the nature of the life the king was living and left for Modhera (Muttra). As a Saivite the king seems to have had also some faith in Vishnu. So he expressed his inclination to go to Muttra to worship the image of Krishna there. Accordingly accompanied by a number of his feudal chiefs and learned men, he went to the temple of Varāha where Bappabhatti composed a number of verses in praise of Vishnu's exploits, both moral and immoral and also of Vishnu's amorous sports. When listening to his amorous poetical effusion the king pointed out the unsuitability of the occasion for such prayers, Bappa said that such gods as he worshipped must have all their compliments paid to them. After discussing with him on the merits of various religions, Bappa succeeded in converting him to Jainism.

Immediately after his conversion, king Âma laid siege to Rajagiri (Rajghir), the capital of Samudrasena, but could not capture it. On being asked when he could capture it, Bappa told him that his grandson would seize it. Then in the course of twelve years there was born a son to his son called Dunduka. Taking this infant in a State palanquin, Âma laid siege again to Rajagiri and succeeded in capturing it. Samudrasena fled from the country. Âma annexed it to his own territory.

Then he went on a pilgrimage to various sacred places of the Jainas–Pundarika mountain, Raivataka mountain, with about eleven kings ruling over the country round it, Dwaraka with the temple of Krishna, and Somesvarapura, whence he

returned to Kanyakubja. On his return he crowned his son Dunduka as king of his kingdom and died on Friday, the fifth of the white half of Bhadrapada, the moon being in Chitra and the sun being in Tula, in the Vikrama year 890.

His son was addicted to sensual pleasures and spent his time in the midst of prostitutes, especially in the company of one called Kandi. He had, however, a son called Bhoja from his queen, a princess of Patalipura. Bhoja was sent to live with his maternal uncle in Patalipura, as Bappabhatti apprehended danger to his life at the hands of his father. Though Dunduka demanded his son's return, Bhatti firmly stood against his return, until at last he was compelled to go himself and bring Bhoja back. Bhatti went there and died in Vikrama 895. After hearing of his father's wicked deeds, he went to Kanuj taking with him three Bījapūra fruits. On forcibly entering into the palace he murdered both his father Dunduka and his concubine Kandi by striking their heart with the fruits he took with him.

As he was liked by all the subjects of Âma, he was immediately crowned king of Kanuj and ruled over the country well with the good advice of Govindasuri.

* THE FOUNDER OF THE VIKRAMA ERA.

BY A. RANGASVAMI SARASVATI, B.A.,
Assistant Epigraphist.

IN the first article under the above heading an attempt was made to show that Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama Era, was the historical king Śūdraka who ruled over Ujjain, set aside the ruling Andra Dynasty, destroyed the power of the Śaka invaders and was a great patron of letters and himself a great poet. There are a large number of other references to Śūdraka and Vikramāditya in literature which tend only to strengthen the theory. The verse लिम्पतीवतमोङ्गानि, etc., of the Mṛichchakaṭi which has been called one of the best in Sanskrit literature and about which the Sanskrit savant said "If the whole of the Mṛichchakaṭi were to be destroyed and only that verse were to survive the fame of Śūdraka as a great writer would live on," is found in both the anthologies Subhāshitāvali and Śārgṇadharapaḍḍhati as the composition of Vikramāditya. The Subhāshitāvali has got about ten verses which are said to be the production of Vikramāditya.

The identity of Śūdraka and Vikramāditya appears to have been forgotten very early in history. Although the fame of Vikramāditya lived on in the form of legends scattered throughout the country changing their form from time to time, the relation of these legends with Śūdraka was lost sight of. The result has been very disastrous to the political as well as the literary history of India. The era was thought to have had its origin in the reckoning of the republican tribe the Malavas starting from the time when those tribes got themselves consolidated into a state.

Scholarṣ have not been rare who questioned the accuracy of this interpretation, but the problem still remains unsolved because they could not satisfactorily establish the identity of Vikramāditya with any historical king who ruled about 56 B.C., that is, when the Āndhrabhṛitya power was in the ascendant. Similarly although the drama Mṛichchakaṭi lived on and although from its characteristics its antiquity was recognized, its exact date and authorship could not be ascertained. It is most curious to note that all the European savants who have done so much in ascertaining the dates of most of the classical authors of Sanskrit and made the writing of the history of Sanskrit literature possible left Mṛichchakaṭi and its author severely alone and uncared for. Some scholars not being able to find out any king called Śūdraka who ruled at any period from Ujjain or any other place, thought that the work was a literary forgery. One scholar suggested from some references that it might be the work of Dandin. But in the previous article it has been shown how Dandin who lived in the beginning of the seventh century refers to Śūdraka and his works and also gives the legendary account

* *Vide* page 268 to 282 of Vol. XII, No. 3.

of his life current at the period. Another set of scholars took that Mṛichchakaṭi was the work of a late poet who worked on the drama Daridrachārudatta of Bhāsa and elaborated it to its present form. In addition to doing so he is believed to have written the introductory act of the drama to make it appear as the work of a Śūdraka who was king of Ujjain or Avanthi and about whom he wrote the verses mentioning his scholarship and exploits. The theory appears to be highly improbable if not actually impossible. The Daridrachārudatta is merely an abridgment of the Mṛichchakaṭi which contains most of the passages of the former work. The name Daridrachārudatta of the smaller drama is itself found in the larger one. Whosoever might have been the author of the abridgment, whether it was Bhāsa or not, it seems to be certain that Śūdraka's work was abridged after his time.

The legends and stories about Vikramāditya have had a very curious history. In one place in the Kathāsaritsāgara Vikramāditya is said to be the king of Ujjain and the son of Mahēndrāditya. In another place he is called Vikramakēsari and is said to have had his capital at Pratisṭhāna on the Godāvari. Here the Buddhist Śramana that took him to the Bētāla and wanted to sacrifice him is called Kshāntiśīla. In the fourth story of the Bētāla according to the Kathāsaritsāgara Śūdraka is said to be the king of Śōbhāvati. This story is the same as No. 7 of the Mitralābha in the Panchatantra of Vishnuśarman wherein a faithful servant sacrifices the lives of his wife and only son in order to save that of his master Śūdraka. In the story Śūdraka is called the king of Karṇāṭa. The famous poet Bāṇa who lived in the court of the king of Kanouj Harshavardhana and who took the kernel of the story of Kādambari from the Bṛihatkathā mentions Śūdraka as his hero and the whole story is woven round his name. Here Śūdraka is called the king of Ujjain. Later dynasties of India preserve reminiscences of Śūdraka in their historical Prasastis. The terms Raṇarangaśūdraka and Āhavaśūdraka used in these inscriptions show that in their time the memory of Śūdraka as a great conqueror had not entirely died out. Hāla's reference to Vikramāditya in his Saptaśati was thought by some scholars to stamp it as a later work; because they did not know of any Vikramāditya before his time. But Hāla's relation to the Saptaśati and his identity as an Āndhrabhritya sovereign are above controversy and the mention of Vikramāditya in it is one of the strongest arguments in favour of the existence of a Vikramāditya at 56 B.C., who was the founder of the Era.

So much has been able to be deduced from Sanskrit secular literature about Śūdraka or Vikramāditya. Jain literature has got several references to a Vikramāditya of Ujjain who founded the Samvat era. Many years ago Dr. Bühler discussing about the dates of the Śunga sovereign Pushyamitra and the great grammarian Patanjali contributed a note in the Indian Antiquary, II, Page 362. At the end of the note he subjoined the Prakṛit Gāthas upon which his statements were based, according to the ancient Jain authors Mērutunga Dharmasāgara, and Jinavijayagaṇi. These Gāthas and their translations are given below on account of their importance to the study of the foundation of the Vikrama Era.

जंरायणिं कालगओ अरिहातित्थंकरोमहवीरो ।
तंरायणिं अवन्तिवईअहिसित्तोपालगेराया ॥ १ ॥
सठ्ठीपालगरण्णोपणवण्णसयंतुहोयिणन्दाण ।
अठ्ठसयंमुरियाणंतीसंविअपूसमित्तस्स ॥ २ ॥
बलमित्तभानुमित्तापठ्ठीवरिस्यानिच्छतणहवहणे ।
तहगद्दभिल्लरज्जंतेरसवरिस्यासदास्सचौ ॥ ३ ॥

1. Pālaka, the Lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which the Arhat and Tīrthankara Mahāvīra entered Nirvāṇa.

2. Sixty are (the years) of king Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are the years of the Nandas; one hundred and eight, those of the Mauryas and thirty those of Pushyamitra.

3. Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhānumitra, forty Nabhōvāhana. Thirteen years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardhabilla, and four are (the years) of Śaka.

These verses which are quoted in a very large number of Jaina commentaries and chronological works, but the origin of which is by no means clear, give the adjustment between the eras of Vīra and Vikrama and form the basis of the earlier Jaina chronology.

Again Johannes Klatt in his learned article headed "Historical Records of the Jainas" Ind. Ant., XI, p. 251, gives considerable information about Vikramāditya deduced from Jain literature. The portion of this article bearing on the present discussion might be quoted *in extenso*. Kālakasūri, the uprooter of Gardhabhila, lived in 453 (Vardhamānaśaka). According to other manuscripts the same Kālaka also transferred the Paryushaṇaparvan and as authorities for the fact are mentioned the Sthānakavṛittika Dharmōpadēśamālāvṛitti, Pushpamālāvṛitti, Samastakālakāchāryakathā and Prabhāvikacharita. Âryakhaputa lived at the same time 453 (V.S.) according to a Jirnapattavali, but besides it is said that the Prabhāvikacharita gives the date as 484 (V.S.).

In 467 (V.S.) lived Aryamangu, Vṛidhavādin and Padalipta, at the same time as Siddhasēna-Divākara, the author of the Kalyāṇamandirastava and converter of Vikramāditya 470 (V.S). Here follow the three prakrit verses which Prof. Bühler first published in Ind. Ant. II, p. 362 (in Verse 3, read Nahavāṇa for Nahavāhana). In a Guravāvali of the Vṛihadgachcha, the following two Gāthas are given :—

सुन्नमुणिवेयजुत्ता ४२०
जिणकलाविक्कमोवरिससठ्ठी ६०
धम्माइच्चोचालीस ४०
गाइलपणवीसनाहडे अठ्ठ ८
इकंमिवाससरा
गयंमिपणतीसवच्छरसदिरा २३५
विक्कमकालाउसगा
णवच्छरोपुणविसंजाओ ॥

These references in ancient Jain religious and canonical literature prove that there was a king of Ujjain called Vikramāditya who founded the era after his name after the expiry of 470 years after the Jain Tīrthankara Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa.

The Jain religious work Prabhāvikacharita or the lives of Jain Saints by Pradyumnasūri gives a long account of the life of the Jain Āchārya Kālakasūri. This work gives an account of the politics of India at the period when Vikrama is said to have founded the Samvat era. According to this work when Śātavāhana was ruling from Pratishthana and Muruṇḍa at Pātalīputra, a king called Gardabhila was ruling at Ujjain in Mālva. The Śakas are said to have conquered Ujjain and replaced its king Gardabhila. These Śakas were driven out of Ujjain by the king Vikrama who founded the era after his name. The Prabhāvikacharita says that the invasion of the Śakas to Ujjain was brought about by Kālakasūri who invited them to conquer the kingdom to wreak vengeance against the king Gardabhila who tried to outrage his sister. The kingdom of Ujjain was conquered by the Śakas who divided it among themselves but soon Vikrama is said to have driven them out of the country, made himself the sovereign and started the era after his name. The work narrates an account of the achievements of Kālakachārya. He is said to have achieved them in the Courts of Bālamitra, king of Bhṛigukachcha, Sātavāhana king of Pratishthana, Vijayabrahma king of Kōsala, Murunda king of Pāṭaliputra, Bhīma king of Lāṭa, and Kṛishṇa, king of Manakhēṭa. The work also says how the Jain teacher Padalipta saved Bālamitra, king of Bhṛigukachcha, from the attack of his kingdom by Sātavāhana of Pratishṭhana. The Jain teachers Āryakhapuṭa, Rudradēvasūri, Mahēndrasūri, Padalipta and Sidhasēna are brought into contact with Kālakāchārya and Vikramāditya in this work. Of these Padalipta is said to have converted the celebrated Alchemist Nāgārjuna to Jainism. Sidhasēna is said to have helped Dēvapāla, king of Karmaranagara against the attack of his country by Vijayavarman, king of Kāmarūpa.

The above account is very interesting. It proves beyond all doubt that there was a Vikramāditya at 56 B. C., ruling over Ujjain but all the stories narrated in it have not got the same degree of credibility. It makes Nāgārjuna, the famous Buddhist Scholiast, and founder of the Mahāyāna, a Jain. The account it gives of King Kṛishṇa of Manakhēṭa seems merely to be a reminiscence of the account of one of the kings of that name who ruled much later at Mānyakhēṭa (Malkhed) and were Jains. Again though it might be true that Vikrama patronized Jainism, it is not likely that he actually became a Jain. In spite of all these doubts it appears to be certain that Kālakasūri, the Jain teacher and author, and Vikramāditya, the king of Ujjain, who founded the era after his name were historical persons. From a study of the account in the Prabhāvikacharita Dr. Shama Sastry laid down the proposition which is very important for the history of ancient India that it is a mistake to suppose that the dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas succeeded each other and that there is evidence to prove that some of those dynasties were more or less contemporaries either beginning earlier or lasting longer than those dynasties which they are supposed to have superseded. If one were to rely on the accuracy of the

Purāṇas as regards what they say about the succession of these dynasties, they would be committing a great mistake. The Vishṇupurāṇa says "after these various races will reign seven Abhiras, 10 Gardabhilas, 16 Śakas, 8 Yavanas, 14 Tusharas, 13 Murundas and 7 Haunas, altogether 79 Princes who will be sovereigns of the earth for 1399 years." But the evidence of the Prabhāvikacharita and Jain tradition shows that the kings Murunda and Gardabhila were contemporaries and the dynasties represented by them should also have been contemporary. Any other way of looking at these dynastic lists would make the last of these dynasties as having ruled as late as the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D., which would militate against all accepted views of the history of India during the period.

(*To be continued.*)

SOLAR SIGNS IN INDIAN LITERATURE.

By K. G. Sesha Aiyar, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., *Trivandrum.*

In his learned articles on '*Solar Signs in Indian Literature*' published in the issues of the Journal for July and October, 1921 Mr. Kameswara Aiyar states certain conclusions which, if accepted, will set at rest some vexed questions of Indian literary history. He says that, if in any Indian work any sign of the solar zodiac is mentioned or the calendrical week or any week-day occurs, then that work should be relegated to a period not anterior to the 5th century of the Christian era, when alone, he says, India borrowed these notions from the Greeks. He does not stand alone in holding this view; and for that very reason it seems to me desirable that the premises on which the conclusion is rested should be examined. I am conscious of my limitations for a task of such moment; and if, nevertheless, I venture to say a word or two questioning the premises, it is only with the view that a discussion may be provoked on a subject of outstanding importance.

As regards the zodiacal signs in Indian literature, Mr. Kameswara Aiyar's argument, shortly put, is as follows: Though in the Babylonian and Assyrian zodiac there were twelve divisions, there were only eleven picture-signs, Libra or the Balance being unknown, and its division being occupied by a second scorpion. The Greeks, who borrowed the zodiacal signs from the Babylonians, replaced the pair of scorpions by a single scorpion with 'claws' stretched across two divisions. The Balance as a distinct sign must have been introduced by the Greeks about the first century B.C. As the Indian zodiac consists of twelve distinct signs, including Libra, it must have been borrowed after the first century B.C. from the Greeks; and the earliest opportunity for such borrowal occurred only in the time of Chandragupta II in the 5th century. This reasoning, I submit, is vitiated by a fundamental error, relating to the seventh sign of the zodiac.

It may be conceded that no representation of the Balance has been yet discovered on any Assyrian cylinder. It may also be conceded that the earlier Greek writers like Eudoxus and Hipparchus, knew of only eleven zodiacal symbols, and the Balance is first mentioned as the sign of the autumnal equinox by Geminus and Varro. Nevertheless, in the words of the learned writer on the *Zodiac* in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Vol. 28, page 994), "Libra was not of Greek invention. Ptolemy, who himself chiefly used the 'Claws,' speaks of it as a distinctively Chaldaean sign; and it occurs as an extra-zodiacal asterism in the Chinese sphere. An ancient Chinese law, moreover, prescribed the regularization of weights and measures at the *spring* equinox. No representation of the seventh sign has yet been discovered on any Euphratean monument; but it is noticeable that the eighth is frequently doubled, and it is difficult to avoid seeing in the pair of zodiacal scorpions carved on Assyrian cylinders the prototype of the Greek

scorpion and claws. Both Libra and the sign it eventually superseded thus owned a Chaldaean birth place." In that view, the basis for the statement that the Indian zodiacal series was borrowed from the Greeks vanishes; for if India must have been a borrower in this respect, she might have owed the symbols to Babylonia or Assyria, with which countries she had, as I shall try to show presently, extensive intercourse in the distant past.

As regards the planetary week, Mr. Kameswara Aiyar is also certain that India borrowed it from the Greeks after the 5th century A.C. He writes: "Everywhere in Sanskrit literature, it is Sunday that heads the list of week-days. Till we find any list which starts with Saturday or any passage showing precedence to Saturday as the first of the week-days, we have to fall back on the only explanation possible, *viz.*, that we adopted the week from the Alexandrians as they had it, after the edict of Constantine the Great about 325 A.D. had transferred the precedence from the astronomically correct Saturday to the ecclesiastically appropriate Sunday; and the intellectual intercourse of the northern Indians with Alexandria was set up only after Chandragupta had opened up free access thereto." This view is also based, it seems to me, on erroneous assumptions. The underlying notion here is that the primitive week began with Saturday and closed with Friday, and it was only after the edict of Constantine that Sunday was placed at the head of the list, so that thereafter the week-days stood from Sunday to Saturday. If so, what is the explanation for the Jewish week, which at least from the date of the flight of the Jews from Egypt, according to Dio Cassius, if not also from pre-exilic times, has had Sunday as the first and Saturday as the last day of the week? Obviously, every nation that begins its week with Sunday had not to wait for the constitution of Constantine of 321 or borrow that arrangement from the Alexandrians after the edict. And why does Mr. Kameswara Aiyar say that 'astronomically' Saturday is the 'correct' day to lead the week? It may be that Saturn is the most distant of the planets of ancient astronomy; but the Sun, which the ancients regarded as one of the seven planets, is the largest and most conspicuous body in the heavens, 'at whose sight all the stars hide their dimished heads,' and thus easily it will be accorded precedence over other planets. Now, accepting a day of 24 hours and arranging the planets in the order of their distance, if we regard the Sun, as by reason of its outstanding importance it may with justification be regarded, as presiding over the first hour of the first day and therefore also over the eighth, the fifteenth and the twenty-second hours, then Venus will have the twenty-third and Mercury the twenty-fourth hour, and the Moon as the third in order from the Sun will preside over the first hour of the second day of the week. Mars, as the third from the Moon will preside over the first hour of the third day, and so on; and according to this arrangement there would be a week calculated from Sunday to Saturday. I see no necessity whatever for first postulating a week beginning with Saturday and then appealing to the constitution of Constantine for its alteration into one beginning with Sunday. But did the constitution of Constantine of 321 A.C. really alter the arrangement of the week days? According to all

the four evangelists, the resurrection of Jesus Christ took place on the first day of the week after the crucifixion; that is on Sunday. That day was, naturally therefore, a holy day for the Christians, the Lord's Day, to adopt the words of the writer of the Apocalypse; and Constantine on his conversion to Christianity directed that that holy day, Sunday, which was already the first day of the week, shall be the day of rest, in opposition to Saturday, the seventh day of the week, which was and still is the Sabbath of the Jews. He did not alter the order of the week-days. It was not by the constitution of Constantine that Sunday was advanced to the position of the first day of the week; it had occupied that leading position even in the Jewish week from perhaps pre-exilic times; and so, the basis on which Mr. Kameswara Aiyar founds his 'only explanation' of the week days in Indian literature disappears.

In my paper on the *Date of Chilappatikaram* (Madras Christian College Magazine, September 1917), I have attempted to refute the view that India borrowed the week and the week-days from the Greeks about the 5th century A.C. Those that hold this view depend as their sheet anchor on the fact that the earliest instance so far known in Indian epigraphy of the use of the week-day is afforded by the Eran inscription of Budha-Gupta of the year 484; and they say that early Indian literature does not afford authenticated instances of the use of the week-days in the civil life of the country. However, the *Hitopadesa* mentions *Bhattaraka-vara* (Sunday), the *Vaikanasa Dharmasutra* which Dr. Macdonell assigns to the 3rd century, mentions *Budha-vara* (Wednesday); and *Yagnyavalkya Smrti* mentions Sunday and Monday. The *Matsya Purana* which is regarded as the earliest among the *Puranas* mentions the planets in their week-day order. Ordinarily these instances ought to suffice to rule out the suggestion that India borrowed the week-days only in the 5th century; but the advocates of that theory seek to belittle the value of these instances on the hypothesis that they must be interpolations or later additions. That hypothesis may always be advanced to meet any instance that literature may afford; but suppose early literature does not afford instances of the use of week-days: does it necessarily follow that the country did not know of the week-days earlier than the 5th century? Even among the Babylonians and Assyrians, who were undoubtedly cognizant of the week-days, there is the high authority of Dr. Robertson Smith for saying that the planetary week did not prevail in civil life. The fact appears to be that the week-days were probably regarded originally as part of the occult lore of the land, and hence were not employed for general purposes for a considerable length of time.

If India must have borrowed the astrological week from elsewhere, why should it not have been from Babylonia or Assyria? The late Shankar Balakrishna Dikshit says in his *Early History of Bharatiya Jotisha* that India got the week-days from the Chaldaeans long before the Christian era. Mr. V. S. Dalal in his *History of India* also expresses the same view. That there was commerce on an international scale between Babylon and India, it seems to me it is idle to deny. We read in the *Book of Kings* that Solomon's fleet went to Ophir and returned laden with gold, precious

stones and "almug" wood (1. Kings IX. 28, X. II), which is conjectured to be the Indian sandalwood. Wherever Ophir might have been, in South Arabia as Genesis X. 29 seems to indicate or in India as has been often asserted, it is quite clear that among the cargo that Solomon's ships brought on their return were Indian articles, such as aloes and peacocks (1. Kings X. 22). Philology discloses that the Hebrew words *tuki* and *ahalin* come from the Tamil words *tokai* and *agil* respectively; and it is interesting to note that the Hebrew word for muslin is *sindhu*, so called obviously from the land of the Indus whence it was exported. Arrian mentions that the maritime city of Patala in the Indus delta was the centre of trade between India and Babylonia. Thus there was international traffic in merchandise and manufactures between the two countries in very remote times. Among the business tablets found in Nippur in Babylonia, records of dealings by a banking house with Indian merchants have been discovered. Ancient Hindu intercourse with the Hittites of Syria is evidenced by the occurrence of the Sanskrit numerals *eka*, *tri*, *panca*, *sapta*, *nava*, in the cuneiform inscriptions of Boghoskoi; and further it has been brought to light that one of the languages in which the inscriptions in that city are written is an old Indian language. Again, recent investigations have disclosed the significant fact that gods bearing such names as *Mitra-sil*, *Aruna-sil* and *Indra*, names possessing an unmistakable relation to the names of Hindu Gods, were worshipped in the Mitani Kingdom which was situated on the right bank of the river Kur, and which extended towards the Caspian sea. From all this it may be concluded that in the distant past there was extensive intercourse between India and Babylonia and Assyria; and when two civilized peoples have such intercourse, I should have thought that between them exchange of intellectual ideas would have been as easy and natural as the exchange of the products of their labour. The natural tendency would be to produce between them a material and social comity which might be expected to affect the fabric of arts, science, letters, philosophy and religion of each nation. Nevertheless, Mr. Kameswara Aiyar tells us that the first opportunity for India to borrow from or exchange with another country intellectual ideas or devices presented itself only in "the golden period of the Guptas," when Chandragupta Vikramaditya's successful arms had reduced Gujarat and Kathiawar and opened up free access to the ports of western India. We are not told what agency prevented the advance of intellectual waves from Babylonia or Assyria to Indian shores, when there was brisk international traffic between those kingdoms and India. I do not know if in Mr. Kameswara Aiyar's view, the cataclysm of war, violence or disorder is an essential prelude to the interchange of intellectual ideas between two nations, as the use of the expressions, "a collision of two cultures", "a clash and competition between conflicting modes of thought", which he employs in this connection, seems to suggest. If European ideas "travelled with the goods of the Alexandrian merchants" into India in Chandragupta's days and influenced his court and subjects, why, as the result of the ancient sea-borne commerce between India and Babylonia, should not some Babylonian thoughts and ideas have travelled to India along with Babylonian goods or money? At any rate,

readers of Juvenal's *Satires* know that Indian astrologers competed with their Chaldaean brethren for the custom of rich Roman ladies in the latter part of the first or the beginning of the second century; and consequently Indian astrology need not have waited till the 5th century A.C. to make its borrowal of the week-days. It could have effected it without trouble from the Chaldaean astrologers themselves long before that date.

I know I shall be regarded as over-bold if I suggested that, after all, India might not have borrowed the astrological week from abroad. There are scholars who hold the view that Sumerian culture was of Indian origin; but that is a very large question which need not be discussed here. Having regard to the conditions under which controversies regarding ancient Indian culture are usually conducted, even much more modest claims on behalf of ancient India cannot be advanced without considerable temerity. Everybody knows that, whenever in respect of any branch of ancient learning a claim for originality is made on behalf of India, the burden of establishing or even rendering probable that claim is thrown on the person who advances it; for the normal condition is taken to be that India should be relegated to the position of the borrower. Whether India borrowed her astronomy and astrology from abroad is not by any means a settled question. Prof. MaxMuller and Dr. Thibaut entertained the view that the study of astronomy in India was indigenous. It has now passed beyond the range of controversy that the lunar zodiac was invented in India. The various religious observances and ceremonial rituals ordained for the Hindu, necessitated astronomical or astrological study and calculation for their regulation. The new moon and the full moon would naturally become religious occasions and thus a lunar month would come to be regarded as consisting of two sacred cycles. A further basis for the sub-division of each of these cycles might be found in the phases of the moon; and a week so determined will have an average length of 7 days in round numbers, discarding fractions. This number coinciding with the number of planets in ancient astronomy, the idea would naturally suggest itself to a people with imagination, as the ancient Hindus certainly were, of assigning a day to each planet. So far the ancient Hindus need not have gone to foreign lands for inspiration. It is, however, said that in settling the order of the week days, ancient India depended on foreign help. It is stated that the division of the civil day into 24 hours determined the order of the week days; and a day of 24 hours is unknown in Indian literature. I am not quite sure that the statement that the division of the nycthemeron into 24 parts is not met with anywhere in Indian literature is correct; for it is my belief that from Kalidasa's writings it may be gathered that he uses the twenty-four hours day; but that apart, can the order of the week-days be explained only on the basis of 24 parts to the nycthemeron? The week-days may also be explained on the basis of a day of 60 *ghatikas* which I believe is a division peculiar to India. The planets of ancient Indian astronomy are the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. If we consecrate the first *ghatika* of the first day to the Sun, as the most important of the planets, then Mars will have the second *ghatika*,

Jupiter the third, Saturn the fourth, the Moon the fifth. Mercury the sixth, Venus the seventh and the Sun again the eighth *ghatika*. On this arrangement the Sun will ultimately have the 57th *ghatika*, Mars the 58th, Jupiter the 59th and Saturn the 60th *ghatika* of the first day of the week; and over the first *ghatika* of the second day the Moon will preside. In the same manner, Mars will preside over the first *ghatika* of the third day, Mercury over the first *ghatika* of the fourth day, Jupiter over the first *ghatika* of the fifth day, Venus over the first *ghatika* of the sixth day and Saturn over the first *ghatika* of the seventh day of the week. Perhaps this explanation of the origin of the week-day order in India will be pronounced to be patriotic; but may I submit that 'patriotic' need not necessarily be equivated with 'unscientific' or 'fanciful'? I may here note the fact, for that may have some significance, that while the ancient Chaldaean day and the Indian day resemble in being reckoned from sunrise to sunrise, the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Greeks reckoned their day from midnight to midnight.

The suggestion that ancient India owed the evolution of her planetary week and week-days to her own genius, may or may not be acceptable; but if a borrowal has to be postulated, then Mr. Kameswara Aiyar himself seems to admit the possibility of the Tamil people having been able to derive the solar signs, the week and similar conceptions from the Babylonians or the Greeks several centuries before Christ; and I venture to suggest that the same possibility may be claimed not unreasonably for Northern India or ancient Sanskrit India also.

MADRAS RECORD O[...]CE

REVIEWS.

The Mahabharata.

Notes of a study of the preliminary chapters, being an attempt to separate genuine from spurious matter.)

BY MR. V. VENKATACHELLA AYYAR, B.A., B.L., NELLORE.

THE excellent study before us is based on the comparative examination of four recensions of this famous epic, namely, the Calcutta edition of Pratap Chunder Roy, an edition in Telugu characters published about sixty years ago, the Dravida recension published by some Kumbakonam Pandits and the Bombay edition by Messrs. Gopal Narayan & Co. The author has laid under contribution also a translation in Telugu of the epic by the great Telugu poet Nannaya Bhatta in the eleventh century A.D. and the reference to the epic by Al beruni.

While in the main all the recensions agree as to the text of the epic, the divergence among them as to portions of the same are palpably great. No one text agrees with another in the number of slokas it gives. The sequence of the chapters is often found varied. The arrangement of matter differs, frequently, in respect of even individual chapters. Whole Adhyayas or chapters, given in one edition, are looked for in vain in the others. The careful student cannot fail to observe the literary style of different epochs brought together, oftentimes in the course of the same Adhyayas. The artless simplicity of the early periods, the artificialities of the latest, and the rhetorical flourishes of the mediæval period may be seen side by side in a strange combination in the course of the same chapter. A critical study of the text is a real necessity. The Bharata, as we find it, is an encyclopædia treating of many subjects which have no connecting bond between them. We find in it what was offered as history, what was regarded as geography, what was believed to be religion, philosophy, polity, science, and several other topics of interest. Did the Bharata exist at the start in the form in which we find it? Was it the work of one man or of one period?

It is these questions that Mr. Venkatachella Ayyar attempts to answer in the book of over 400 pages before us. And he has answered them in no uncertain voice. The volume is replete with instances of careful exegetical study and unbending logic. The close analysis of the preliminary chapters and the well-reasoned comparison of parallel readings have yielded a rich and interesting harvest.

To follow the arguments in the book even briefly would take us far beyond the space permitted us. We would content ourselves with remarking that the interested reader will be amply rewarded by even a cursory perusal of the work. We can here hardly do more than summarize a few of the conclusions arrived at

by the author. " Putting the several facts together, that Dhritarashtra's summary ends with the contents of the 11th Book ; that the Sauti has not carried it farther ; that his own summary, up to the point of his introducing Dhritarashtra, stops with the outbreak of the war ; that the suggestion in the next Book leads to the inference that only the first eleven Books were canonical ; we may take it as tolerably certain that the last seven Books are spurious." " The undermentioned suggestions may be inferred from the contents of the first chapter :—1. That the Bharata existed in various forms in various periods. 2. That the extent of the Bharata of Vyasa, *i.e.*, of the original cast, was probably not greater than 8,800 verses. That the upakhyanams formed no part of Vyasa's Bharata. That systematized efforts were made to convert it into an encyclopædia. That the didactic portions, and those concerned with the elaborations of " Vedic and Shastraic " teachings were interpolations of later periods. Repetitions frequently occur of the same story in the Mahabharata. "The reason can be suggested. It is probable that the first version of the story, which is generally brief, was all that the original cast contained. But later, workers at the Bharata took in hand the revision of the episodes, amplifying them in every way they conceived." Regarding the notorious incident of the attempt to strip Draupadi naked in the Durbar Hall of Duryodhana, Mr. Ayyar has the following :—" In all probability, the idea, as to the outrage on Draupadi, of the earlier draft of the Bharata, was confined to her enforced appearance in the public hall, contrary to the customs and manners of the country (here we feel some difficulty in agreeing with the author that there was any such custom prevalent in those times) ; that the further outrage of attempting to strip her of her wearing apparel was the invention of a later age ; that the appeal to Krishna, the Avatar, and his miraculous intervention, were yet later introductions intended for the glorification of the Avatar." As regards the 12th and the 13th Books, namely Santi and Anusasanika Parvas, he says : " They are stupendous forgeries ; the 13th Book was of a later period than the 12th ; in the case of both these Books, they were repeatedly added to in later generations. '

The above extracts will amply show the wide field for interesting study that the subject offers ; and Mr. Ayyar is a safe friend with whom to explore these fields. We shall conclude this all too brief a review with our tribute of praise for his patient and fruitful labours. We are aware that the attentions of a select body of scholars are being devoted to this study in the Bhandarkar Institute and we have little doubt that those researches will, in a large measure, bear out many of Mr. Ayyar's conclusions so far as they go.

A. V. R.

Records of the IV Madras Pioneers, 1759—1903.

(Now the 64th Pioneers)

BY MAJOR H. F. MURLAND, 64TH PIONEERS.

This handsomely turned-out quarto volume of over 300 pages is a substantial contribution to the history of early British military activities in South India; and Major Murland deserves the gratitude both of those who are interested in the history of this gallant and faithful old regiment and of those who delight to wander through the mazes of Indian history in general. The wideness of his researches, often through records that are not easily come by, and the care and thoroughness with which the work has been done, merit the highest commendation. In following the fortunes of the regiment over parts of three centuries, Major Murland has set himself to indicate the politics of the times, the movements of armies on both sides of the fields of war, and the issues of the various campaigns that come under review. The present writer knows of no single volume or series of volumes in which such information, succinct and exact, has been brought together. It is rather a matter of regret that the "Records" are published for private circulation only; and therefore the presentation of a copy to the Mythic Society by the 64th Pioneers gains the more both in grace and intrinsic value. Rather more than half the book is taken up by the story of the campaigns in which the regiment participated, together with the tale of its doings as a Pioneer regiment in civil undertakings; then follows a series of most interesting extracts which illustrate the interior economy of the regiment; and the book is closed with some account of the British and Indian officers who have been connected, through the period covered, with the life and doings of the regiment. It would be hard to say which of these is the most valuable contribution to history, for each has a unique interest and value.

The names of the British officers bring to our memory the great family names of the Turings, the Dovetons, the Munros, and many others. Old sepoys name the regiment after Baillie, "Baillie-Ki-Paltan", famous for his great, but ill-supported, stand against Hyder and Tippu at Pollilur in 1780 and for his heroic fortitude during imprisonment in Seringapatam, till death relieved his sufferings but it appears clear that he did not himself raise the regiment. The credit of that rests with George Airey, probably its first commanding officer. Honour further clings to the regiment in that Flint, who defended Wandiwash for 167 days in 1780-81, was at least nominally its Lieut. Colonel in 1797; while we doubt not that the memory of Thomas Munro's enrolment for two years with the regiment is highly treasured. Probably many of our readers will desire to see the old drawing, preserved in the regimental officers' mess, which represents Baillie handing his sword to Hyder after the battle of Pollilur.

Since the history will be available to members of the Mythic Society in its library, little need here be said of the history of the four British campaigns against Hyder Ali and his son Tippu, nor of the war against the Mahrattas by Wellesley.

Enough to say that readers can rely both on the general outline of history, and also on its details; a careful study of the latter can hardly produce a single correction, and none that is important. Local members of the Society will delight to note that the present 64th—formerly the 5th, and then the 4th battalion, with at first "Coast sepoys," then "Carnatic Battalion," afterwards "Madras Native Infantry," as its descriptions—was present in Mysore in 1768 under the renowned Col. Joseph Smith, again at the capture of Bangalore and the siege of Nandidroog, and did heavy convoy work in the campaign of 1799 under the direction of Capt. Alexander Read. One of its commandants, Capt. Nathaniel Dawes, died at Bangalore in March, 1791, just after the siege, and was buried in the fort itself, but his tomb like many another has been swept out of recognition.

The amazing fidelity and service of the Indian sepoy of South India is revealed again in these records. When the fortunes of the British were suffering eclipse in 1780—84, when the Civil authorities and the Military leaders were hopelessly at variance and consequently the troops were again and again more than half starved and almost helpless for lack of stores and ammunition, when leaders hesitated and bungled away their chances of victory, then the sepoys kept faith and fighting spirit to an extent that elicits wonder and admiration. Smith, Coote, Wellesley, all in their turn testify to the bravery and endurance of their sepoys. Perhaps the time when their lamp shone brightest was when numbers of those who had escaped from the disaster of Baillie, and had made their way to the army that did not make its way to them, still marched and fought with the most gallant. Major Murland rightly does not attempt to indicate the worth of all this, because it is beyond description; he contents himself with the bare record of facts and of the statements of eye-witnesses.

Readers of old records of military doings in India must often have been struck to find how very young numbers of the British troops and officers were. Tippu could find about sixty youths in captivity in the neighbourhood of Bangalore in 1783, and sent them off to be included in his 'cheylah' battalions. Here is a record of two boys, neither more than fifteen years of age, in charge of companies at the siege of Pondicherry in 1778; a fact possibly due to the old system which sometimes granted a deceased father's commission to his son even, as in the case of General Monin, buried at Trichinopoly, at the tender age of five years. Other reasons lay in the difficulty in securing recruits for India, so that recruits were found in the immature, and often, alas, in the gaols of the country.

We note with great interest in the record of the interior economy of the regiment, the system, started in 1785, of granting the pay of a sepoy who had been killed or had died in the service to one of his sons, who when he was ripening into manhood must either enlist or be struck off the regimental roll. The system seems to have worked well, for two years after its initiation the numbers of two "recruit boys" per company were increased to forty per regiment, and that again shortly after to fifty. How much of regimental tradition, pride of service, mutual affection, must have been fostered by this old system!

It is interesting to laymen in matters military to note the frequency of the changes in details of regimental equipment, clothing, pay, etc., through the years. Military tailors have ever had keen eyes, and changeable tastes. We note that the best leaders were ever the most careful of their men, even of their finances. Smith *e.g.*, recommended in 1770 that commanding officers should not stop "more than four, or at most five, rupees from any sepoy" for his clothing. "Slops" that clothing is called later in the same year, a term that is now unknown to modern English generally, but is retained in the rural districts of North England to describe, when used in the singular an "overall, a smock," and when in the plural a man's nether garments, specially of a "sloppy" cut.

The dress of British soldiers and their officers in those early days must have been a burden to the flesh in days of battle and long marching. William Hickey is quoted here as witnessing to the fact that "officers in India dress precisely the same (in point of coat at least), as in Europe, and although certainly absurd in such extreme heat, actually button the lapel close up to the throat." The drawings which represent the 18th century soldier in India bear the same testimony to the use of very unsuitable Western clothing by the Eastern campaigner. Small wonder that the climate claimed vast number of victims. On the other hand a study of the dress of the sepoys as described in 1780 shows that it was as simple and efficient as it was picturesque.

Much more has been marked down for comment, but the reviewer must be content thus far to commend these fascinating "Records" to the Mythic Society's readers, being sensible that this but poorly indicates the great worth of the compilation that Major Murland has given us.

F. G.

Magadi Kempegowda.

BY S. K. NARASIMHAIYA.

The book gives a connected account of the reign and doings of Kempegowda and his ancestors and fills up the gap in the history of Mysore so far as it relates to the family of this chieftain who is gratefully remembered even to this day. Mysore is a land in which several Palegars have played their part and Kempegowda is one of the foremost among them. Monuments erected by him can be seen in and around Bangalore. The remains of the several forts built by him, the temples and tanks constructed and the many grants made by him bear ample testimony to his wise administration, his scrupulous regard for the protection and welfare of his subjects and lastly his devotion and charitable disposition generally. Even within the precincts of Bangalore, which is stated to have been founded by him, we see several remains of the structures erected by him and the four watch towers are a daily reminder to the people of this great man. He is surely a personage any people may be proud of and yet very little is known or written

about him and his reign except as a builder of this temple, the grantor of that inam and so on. The author in bringing together all the scattered information about this illustrious chieftain has done a real public good. Though there is scope for improvement, he deserves to be congratulated on the success his maiden attempt has achieved.

We hope some one will take up an English version of Kempegowda for the benefit of people not well versed in Kannada.

T. S.

Ramayana.

BY P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR.

(of the Madras Archæological Department)

We thank the author for having placed us in possession of a copy of this book. It is a nice abstract in English of the famous epic. It is neatly got up and is written in easy style. It is useful for general reading by boys and girls for whom it is primarily meant.

N.B.—Copies can be had of Messrs. Vaidyanathan Bros., Mylapore, Madras—Price Rs. 1-8-0.

Siva Tattwa Ratnakara.

(To be published by Messrs. B. M. Nath & Co., Vepery, Madras)

We are in receipt of a prospectus of the above work from its publishers. It is a famous work on the Veerasaiva cult, compiled in the early part of the 18th century under the patronage of the Lingayet King *Basavaraja of Keladi*. The publication of the Sanskrit text with an English translation is promised.

Considering the size and importance of the work, the price is low being only about Rs. 12 and the publishers deserve the support of all Veerasaivas and students of Indian religions in their undertaking.

Books presented or purchased during the quarter ending 30th September 1922.

Registrar, Calcutta University—

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. VIII.

Superintendent, Government Printing, India.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, for 1920-21.
Index to Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, Nos. 1—6.

Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab.

Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1921.

Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa.

Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Central Circle, for 1920-21.

Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma—

Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the period ending 31st March 1922.

Presented by—

Rajasabhabhushana Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.B.E., M.R.A.S.

Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkestan and Beloochistan by J. P. Ferrier.
" St. Thomas, the Apostle in India."

Dr. M. Sreenivasa Rao, M.A., M.D.

Drittes Jahrbuch Der Schopenhauer Gesselschaft, Ausgegeben. 22nd February 1914.
Allgemeine Geschichte Der Philosophie Mit Besonderer Beriickjichtigung Der Religionen Erster Band, Dritte Abteilung—" Die Nachvedische Philosophie Der inder " by Paul Deussen.
Do "Allgemaine Einleistung und Philosophie Des Veda Bis Auf Die Upanishads" by Paul Deussen.
Do " Die Philosophie Der Upanishads."

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. *(Author)*

Anthropological Papers—Part II.
Asiatic Papers—Part II.

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A.

The Russian Grammar by Ch. Reiff.

Mr. K. Rama Sastry, B.A. *(Author)*

"Akkalpundi Grant of Singaya Nayaka."

Mr. N. G. Venkatasubbayyar, *Teppakulam.*

"Saptashatakam Des Hala" edited with notes and translation by A. Weber.

Mr. B. Ghosal, M.A., *Bhopal State Museum.*

"Sanchi Tope" by Sir John Marshall.

"The influence of the age on the writer" by Ghosal, M.A.

Mr. R. Rama Rao, B.A. *(Author)*

Jaimini Bharata Katha Sangraha.

Mr. S. K. Narasimhaiya *(Author)*

"Magadi Kempegowda"

64th Pioneers.

Records of IV Madras Pioneers from 1759 to 1903 by Major H. F. Murland.

Executors and residuary legatees of the late Pradhanasiromani Mr. T. Ananda Rao's Estate.

The entire library of Mr. Ananda Rao.

Received from Bhavanagar.

"Nagarothpathi."

Purchased—

Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgalandischen Gesselschaft 76 band—1 Heft.

An Alphabetical Encyclopædia by Dr. Emil Reich.

A concise dictionary of Egyptian Archæology by M. Brodrick and Anderson Morton.

A new classical dictionary of Biography, Mythology and Geography by William Smith.

A classical dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquities of Biography, Geography and Mythology by H. B. Walters.